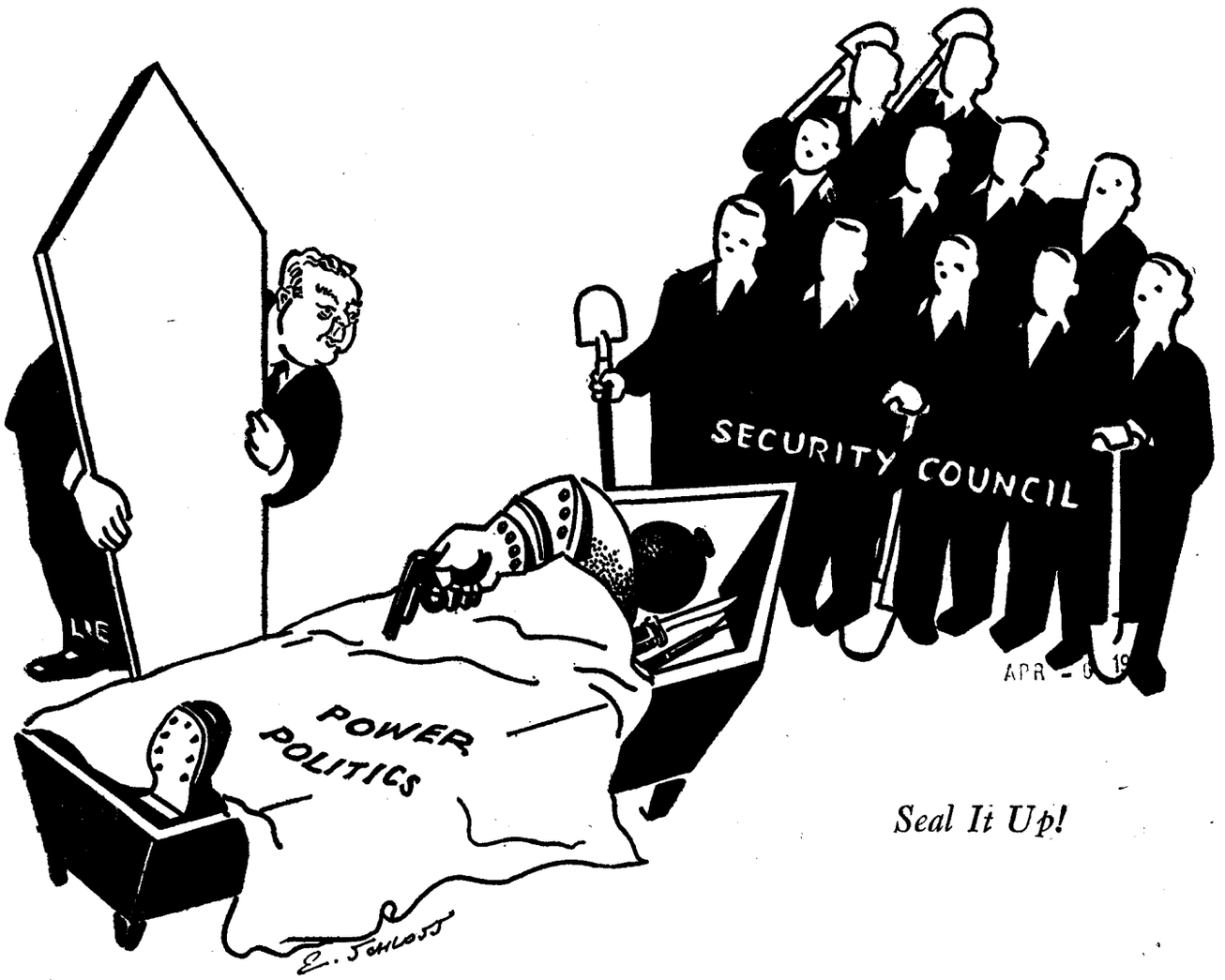
New Republic

April 8, 1946 · Fifteen Cents



Seal It Up!

SENATOR PEPPER:

A Program for Peace

Edwin A. Lahey: Reuther Takes Over

Alfred Friendly: The First Atomic Plan

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

TRUMAN
CHURCHILL
WALLACE
STETTINIUS
MURRAY
ROSENMAN
MacLEISH
SHERWOOD
PEPPER
LEAHY
SCHLESINGEI

AND OTHERS

IN A SPECIAL NEW REPUBLIC SUPPLEMENT

The first appraisal of Franklin D. Roosevelt by his friends and those who worked with him.

A study of his life and his message, in the light of the problems of today.

More than a tribute . . . a vital contribution to a better understanding of Roosevelt.

Hitherto unwritten chapters evaluating the New Deal and the part it played in American history.

A challenge to live up to his faith.

WITH THE APRIL 15 ISSUE

13 *WEEKS* *for* $1.00

THE NEW REPUBLIC, 40 East 49th Street, New York 17, N. Y.

Enter my subscription for the next 13 weeks. I enclose $1.00.

Name ..... *City* .....

Address ..... *State* .....

4-8-46

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE NEW REPUBLIC

A Journal of Opinion

VOL. 144, NO. 14 NEW YORK, MONDAY, APRIL 8, 1946 NUMBER 1636

Stumbling Toward Unity

DURING its first frantic week in New York, the Security Council of the United Nations accomplished considerably less than half a stride in the direction of a lasting peace. For the millions of the world who look to the United Nations for the peace and security that nation states can no longer assure them, the faltering half-stride was disappointing and alarming. But as tortured as were the UNO's first days in the New World, there is great hope that the Council will make ultimate progress to clear away the jungles of international relations and provide ground on which foundations can be laid for world order.

The initial difficulties of the Security Council are in part explicable in terms of the problem with which it found itself confronted: this crucial meeting had to establish the principle that any nation, great or small, has the right to bring its complaints before the world for discussion and scrutiny without interference. But it had also to establish this principle without contributing to the further estrangement of the great powers in dealing with an issue in which great-power interests were inextricably involved.

If the Security Council was successful in establishing the first principle in behalf of the lesser powers, it was spectacularly unsuccessful in doing so within the framework of Big Five unity, without which the world organization cannot function effectively. Indeed, the accomplishments on behalf of the lesser powers may have been canceled entirely by the failure of great-power unity. Both unity and small-power rights must be maintained. But high ideals cannot operate in a vacuum. If Mr. Byrnes and Sir Alexander Cadogan are to collect the laurels of their battle in behalf of the small, they must look to their own relations with the powerful.

Plainly, President Truman and Prime Minister Attlee must soon find some means for living in the same world as the USSR. Not even the clamor of the Russophobe elements of the Manhattan press could obscure the fact last week that the crying need was for effective development of a Security Council agenda. There was no obscuring the fact that the controversy over Iran was by no means a simple issue between a great power and a small one. The iron fist of the power politics of the Big Three was much in evidence as friction of UNO debate wore away the soft glove of diplomacy.

The element of hope in all this lies in the timing of Russia's walkaway from council deliberations on Iran. Andrei A. Gromyko sat in his chair and continued the debate when the council voted, 9 to 2, to reject his petition for dismissal of the Iranian case. To have taken the walk at that moment would have been to apply a veto to the discussion of a moot issue. That kind of veto would, moreover, have violated the agreement of last June, between Marshal Stalin

CONTENTS

Editorials

Stumbling toward Unity 459
Three Cheers! 461
Living with the USSR 462
Political Roundup 464

General Articles

The First Atomic Plan . . Alfred Friendly 465
Dolbin Sketches the UNO Opening . . . 467
Reuther Takes Over . . . Edwin A. Lahey 468
A Program for Peace . Senator Claude Pepper 470
California for the Rich? . . Bruce Bliven 473
Jackson's War with the Bank . . . . . Arthur M. Schlesinger Jr. 475
Washington Notes . . . . . T. R. B. 478
Current Slapping . . . . . Stark Young 479
The Bandwagon 480

Correspondence 480

Books in Review

Walt Whitman: The Secret . Malcolm Cowley 481
Pit without Pendulum . . Frederic Wertham 484
A Reader's List 486
Crime and Punishment . . . . . E. H. 486

New Republic News 486

PUBLISHED WEEKLY AND COPYRIGHT, 1946, IN THE U.S.A. BY EDITORIAL PUBLICATIONS, INC., 40 EAST 49 ST., NEW YORK 17, N. Y.
ENTERED AS SECOND-CLASS MATTER, NOVEMBER 6, 1914, AT THE POST OFFICE AT NEW YORK, N. Y., UNDER THE ACT OF MARCH 3, 1879
PRINTED IN THE U.S.A.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

and the late Harry L. Hopkins, an agreement that broke the final San Francisco deadlock and permitted the UNO to be born.

Thus the great-power agreement that the veto will not apply to discussion was still in effect when Gromyko walked out of the chamber. The USSR was not refusing to discuss the issue, but was refusing to discuss it before April 10. This is a distinction which yet may prove the saving factor in the events which are now unfolding. By remaining in the chamber after being defeated on the motion to dismiss, Gromyko appeared to have given precedent-making validation to the Stalin-Hopkins agreement.

The merits of further delay are something to be argued. Certainly Gromyko would have been on more solid ground had he been able to present something less nebulous than newspaper dispatches in support of his contention that an agreement had been reached between Moscow and Teheran. Gromyko's position was not improved when the Iranian Ambassador put into the record his statement that no agreement had been reached, and the Soviet delegate finally declared that there was no point in Council inquiry into whether the "agreement" was oral or in writing.

There is substance in the Byrnes contention that indefinite postponements of moot issues between great powers and small are dangerous. But Gromyko, of course, was not arguing for indefinite postponements. He was demanding what the Soviet had sought all along—delay until April 10. Whether the Byrnes-Cadogan device of granting Russia four additional days but refusing the eleven which she demands is a workable compromise remains to be seen. But it is inconceivable that a difference of seven days should become the rock on which the UNO might be wrecked, and the USSR has confirmed this by paying in advance her contribution to the United Nations budget. If the men who are sitting on the world council expect to justify themselves before the world, they must work out of this deadlock on time.

The events of the first week of the United Nations in America can still be made salutary. The Security Council has asserted its authority as an entity. Respect for the Charter has been made the fixed point around which disputes revolve. The Western members of the Big Three have made their stand in support of the equal and inviolable rights of the lesser nations. In so doing, they have learned that the United Nations cannot function effectively in the absence of their own unity with the USSR. The Soviet government has demonstrated that without its compliance and cooperation, the rest of the world will be unable to operate in a world peace organization with any hope of success.

The time has now arrived for the nations to cease talking about coöperation in a single world and to begin finding operating rules to make world unity a reality.

Wintringham Excluded

In direct contravention of the unanimously favorable recommendation of the Board of Immigration Appeals, the Attorney General has refused to permit the entry into the United States of Tom Wintringham, husband of a native-born American citizen, outstanding British writer and military expert, whose application for entry first struck a snag in our State Department.

Wintringham, an active member of the British Labor Party, and twice an unsuccessful candidate for Parliament on the ticket of the British Common Wealth Party, was the British War Office's official lecturer on unorthodox methods of stopping tanks and on street fighting during the dark days after Dunkirk. His military textbooks and manuals were used in training both British and American troops.

In 1937 Tom Wintringham was commander of the British Battalion of the International Brigade. After his return to England in 1938 he dissociated himself from the British Communist Party, of which he had until then been a member. In Britain this was common knowledge. Yet it was because of his Communist background that his entry into the United States was opposed originally. Attorney General Clark, in reversing the Board's decision, did not give the explanation which regulations require. He simply said: "Excluded."

Clark's action in the Wintringham case is one of a series of reversals of Board decisions in the past few months. The present attitude of the Attorney General is a complete reversal of the immigration policies of his predecessors, Jackson and Biddle, and is reminiscent of the inhuman, hysterical and anti-alien witch-hunts which prevailed in the twenties.

Army Caste System

The Army's caste system has taken a severe mauling from the enlisted men testifying before the Doolittle investigating board. A couple of new gripes were added to the regular ones. Soldiers are wondering why the board contains four officers to two enlisted men. Doolittle's answer that all the officers started out as privates is not satisfactory. Another objection concerns the secrecy of the sessions. Doolittle maintains the witnesses would talk more freely in private. Secrecy hasn't handicapped the proceedings so far, since most of the witnesses give complete accounts of their testimony to reporters after the hearings.

The testimony is not new, because the Army's shortcomings have been widely trumpeted by all returning GI's. One of the board members, Robert Neville, former editorial head of the Mediterranean *Stars and Stripes,* spelled out the main complaints in a widely read magazine article. It is necessary, of course, to get

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

these complaints on the record. What is more significant, however, is what will be done with the board's recommendations for improvement. Cynical GI's express suspicions that the whole thing may be merely a publicity stunt to "sugar-coat" the recruiting program, with the "big brass" quietly pigeonholing the recommendations later on.

Fortunately, all signs point to the sincerity of the Army. General Eisenhower has always been a champion of GI rights and would certainly not be a party to any double-cross. There is also additional evidence that the Army means business this time. GI's and officers will move one step closer when they begin wearing the same uniforms, ordered for 1948. A War Department request for a 20-percent pay increase for officers and men, while not directly concerned with rank differences, would naturally be welcomed by GI's.

Finally, a move equal in importance to the Doolittle board was the creation of a committee of outstanding jurists to overhaul the antiquated court-martial system. GI's have continually complained, and the records have proved, that courts-martial worked in favor of officers. It is hoped the committee will rectify the prohibition against enlisted men serving on courts, bring up to date the review system, which often places the reviewing officer in the position of judge, and eliminate the lack of uniformity in punishment for similar offenses.

These steps, taken together, indicate a new and overdue democratic renaissance in the Army. The more hide-bound Navy has even taken the hint and set up a civilian board to act along the same lines. All this is good news to the GI. But he's got to be shown before he'll throw his hat into the air.

Three Cheers

A READING of the State Department consultants' report on the international control of atomic energy provokes a powerful temptation to cast restraint aside, praise the study without qualification and be carried away with the solid, realistic hope it offers for banishing the Great Fear. Closer reading and more reflection fail to produce any good reason for resisting that temptation. There is no need to mince words: the program suggested is magnificent!

The only disappointment connected with it is the rather lukewarm attitude of its sponsors. Dean Acheson's committee, which released the report, writes a covering letter which shows signs of considerable fingernail-gnawing. The committee could screw up its courage only to the point of recommending the paper for the Secretary of State's consideration merely as "representing the framework" within which the best prospects for security and peaceful development could be found. Its excess of timidity appears explicable only by the fact that Major General Leslie R. Groves is a member of the committee. He signed the covering letter, it seems clear, only because it was politically impossible for him to have done otherwise; to believe that Groves really endorses the report in his heart is to believe that he has turned a somersault unequaled since the one on the road to Damascus. Secretary Byrnes goes Acheson's committee one better in skittishness. In a foreword to the document, about the best he can do is emphasize that the report is not a final plan, but only a "suitable starting point for the informed public discussion which is one of the essential factors in developing sound policy."

But the public, whether openly fearful of the implications of what happened at Hiroshima, or hiding its terror in the uncounted ostrich-like defense mechanisms that have been invented since last August 6, is not likely to take such a cautious view. There is no reason why it should. The proposal is simple, convincing, easily understood. It calls for an international agency, under the United Nations, undertaking all "dangerous" activities—the mining and primary production of fissionable materials. It would license to individual nations such quantities of the material as are necessary for every peacetime use now known, in "denatured" form, so as to be unusable in atomic bombs.

In its methodology, its arguments, its basic conclusions and its fundamental program, the report is impregnable to every honest attack except that against international control itself. It can be and certainly will be assailed, although probably seldom openly, on the ground that the United States stands a better chance in an international atomic-armament race than it does in any system, however practicable, of international control. This is not to imply that the plan will escape attack on other grounds. Some of the objections may be honest, but it is important to realize that most of them will be made by persons fundamentally opposed to international solutions. They will be concealing their real distaste under a cloak of criticism based on logical or technical grounds.

At this stage, it appears that the attacks, sincere or otherwise, will come on two points. The first is the question of just how "safe" the "safe" activities permitted to the individual nations really are. In these days when every layman is his own scientist, willing to accept, because he is incapable of weighing, every comic-strip forecast of miracles to be achieved next month or next year, provided only the miracles are fantastic enough, it will be hard to advance the cause of sobriety. Even assuming that the War Department permits the publication of the data on which the authors of the report made their findings, it will be difficult to convince the man who has heard of the alchemy in uranium fission that the same explosive force cannot be released by splitting calomel pills in the back room of a drug store.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The report concludes that uranium is the key element for explosives, that denaturing is possible and is an effective safeguard, that other sources of atomic explosives are simply not available at present, and finally, that "present knowledge in the field of atomic energy" is adequate to provide firm anchor points around which a valid control system can be built for the reasonably foreseeable future. The report further declares that these principles are capable of being demonstrated to a layman. This may be technically true, but it is overoptimistic. The demonstration requires more work than the layman is likely to undertake. A reading of as popular a book as Gamow's *Birth and Death of the Sun* would do the trick, but how many will read that book, much less the more difficult Smythe report?

Whether the attack can be defeated and the findings of the State Department report sustained will depend on whom the public finally accepts as its authority. The scientists who worked on the bomb and in the field of atomic physics will give a unanimous confirmation of the report's conclusions. But God help us all when the "science writers" go to work on the proposition, particularly if they are taken into camp by the brass hats. For there is no mistaking the fact that these uniformed scholars, who fear and loathe international control, are already out to prove that denaturing is an impossibility and that once we tell the world what can be found out in an advanced book on physics, Russia will be making atomic bombs out of moonbeams in the undiscoverable recesses of the Kremlin.

The argument behind the second type of attack, which has already been heard in the Senate, is that by disclosing to an international agency the atomic information we have discovered, we will lose our present atomic-arms superiority, either immediately, or sooner than we need. Here, fortunately, the report has its own clear defense. The program calls for disclosure of information by stages. The first stage would involve the release of enough information to prove the workability of the proposal. "Such disclosure," the Acheson committee says, "might shorten the period [needed to make an atomic bomb] by as much as one year," for a nation otherwise equipped to make the bomb in five years.

The next stage of disclosure would come when the international authority is set up. Not until that agency has been in operation for some time, controlling the mines, the primary production and the licensing of materials, and had its inspection system in full operation, would information regarding the construction of the bomb be released to it. And this disclosure would take place only if the agency were ready to—or, indeed, only if there had been a decision that it should—assume the responsibility for research in the field of explosives.

We are convinced that there is only one danger in a wholehearted, joyful acceptance of the consultants' report, and that is one which can easily be avoided. If the report is taken as the answer to all our prayers, there is the possibility that it may be viewed as a substitute for good domestic legislation, and that the hard fight to accomplish decent civilian domestic control may be neglected. There can be nothing more foolish or more dangerous than such a notion. Even under the best of circumstances it will take from one to three years for the principles of the report to be adopted internationally and for the proposed control authority to be set up. During that time, domestic legislation which puts control of atomic energy into military or private hands would result in effectively ruining all chances of obtaining international control. It would set up vested interests which could scarcely be beaten. Or worse, it would put the power into exactly those military quarters which would provoke the most disastrous skepticism among other nations as to the honesty of our objectives. And meanwhile the military would be in a position to fight with ease and probable success to prevent an international solution to the world's worst threat. The advantage of civilian control along the lines proposed in the McMahon bill would be a powerful step toward exactly the goal we should like to achieve. With one very minor change, the bill as it now stands is designed as the escalator to lift atomic energy for peace from the American to the international level.

Living with the USSR

UNITED STATES POLICY in regard to the USSR looks like a series of improvisations based on temporary alarms and recovery from alarms. We were stern on Poland. Then we ceased backing the anti-Soviet Poles. We objected to Soviet political interference in the Balkans and backed British armed interference in Greece. We quarreled in London, made up in Moscow and got tough about Iran.

War scares follow love feasts. Printer's ink is poured on the "mystery" of Russia behind her iron curtain, while the probable action of the United States on any given issue must look to Moscow like an enigma behind a smoke cloud of innumerable contradictory and insubstantial words.

The basic problem is the difficulty of obtaining the necessary degree of delegation of power by both nations to world organization. In the case of the United States the obstacles are obvious and are under constant attack at home. What has been most lacking has been American understanding of the obstacles in the case of the USSR, and a policy consistently designed to circumvent those obstacles.

Intelligent men in both nations know that neither wants war, and that neither is embarked or is likely to embark on a career of armed conquest like that of the Axis powers. Aggression, if it occurs, will have strategic

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

or economic motives, and will be based on considerations of security. If this were not so, there would be no point even in trying to build international government. The correct policy would be an alliance against the intending aggressor and a preventive war.

Russia's fear of attack is clearly the basis of her unilateral actions and of her consistent refusal to be bound, in any matter which she regards as vital to herself, by the votes or opinions of other nations. What is not understood is the stubborn nature of this fear. It cannot be exorcised by a few reassuring speeches or by expressions of good intentions, or by attempting to use the United Nations for purposes for which Russia does not want it used.

Communist doctrine teaches that a socialist state surrounded by non-socialist neighbors is certain to be attacked as long as any of these neighbors see the slightest chance of defeating it. Russian experience amply confirms Communist doctrine on this point. Soviet citizens are under no delusion that the danger arose only from a special wickedness in the character of the Germans or Japanese, and that once these peoples are rendered harmless, guards can be relaxed. Stalin's speech on the occasion of the recent election, blaming capitalism for the recent war and asserting that under capitalism war is inevitable, was not mere electioneering. The statement of Kaganovitch that "we are still within the capitalist encirclement" is a fundamental part of a long established and consistent political philosophy.

It is not, to Communists, a question of the intentions of those who now control the governments of the other states. Marxist dialectic teaches that however honest and pacific officials may be, they are certain to be the pawns of circumstances created by the economy in which they function. Stalin does not have the faith in the future of private enterprise declared by the National Association of Manufacturers, or even by Henry Wallace. He and his associates are convinced that it is certain to suffer unemployment and depression, that it breeds economic imperialism and war, if not fascism itself.

The strengthened Soviet nationalism inspired by the recent struggle merely reinforces the resolution of the Soviet peoples to be impregnable, entirely aside from international guarantees. "The United States," writes Frederick L. Schuman, "would have suffered comparable wounds had 9,000,000 Americans been slain and 27,000,000 become refugees, with the enemy in occupation of most of the states south of the Great Lakes and east of the Mississippi, plus parts of Louisiana, Arkansas and Oklahoma, and with St. Louis, Memphis, New Orleans, Mobile, Nashville, Pittsburgh, Washington and numerous smaller towns reduced to ashes and rubble." In 1934, Stalin said, "Our orientation in the past and our orientation at the present time is toward the USSR, and toward the USSR alone." He could say the same with even greater force today.

In view of these facts, a policy which demands that the USSR should at once cease to seek strategic security and entrust its fate to a world government in which it has a minority of votes is doomed to failure. If we first set up for the USSR standards of international conduct which it openly and insistently refuses to accept, and then brand it as a menace because it will not live up to them, we merely strengthen the obstacles to Soviet coöperation and deceive ourselves.

The USSR never conceived the United Nations as an instrument to police and govern the Big Three, and has taken great pains to prevent it from becoming one. This attitude is not just a temporary vagary which we can overcome by sufficient pressure. In the Soviet view, a world republic part capitalist and part socialist could no more endure than an American republic half slave and half free. Only by creating the habit of world consciousness and by constant modification of our two diverse societies can a true world government be built.

What are the implications of these stubborn and ruling facts for American policy? We shall have to recognize that justice is more than the enforcement of law. We shall have to ask the Soviet Union what it considers essential to its security in the way of bases, oil, sea routes, mandates and the rest. We shall have to evince a willingness to recognize the needs of that security. We shall have to understand that if the processes of peaceful change are not adequately provided for in the Security Council, then, however great the enforcement powers given to the United Nations, it will not be able alone to enforce peace, because change is inevitable.

Meanwhile, a concert of equal powers is very difficult to operate, but there is no other way. In the long run, the Security Council will, we believe, be seen to have asserted its proper authority in the Iranian dispute. But the substance of the issue is not clear. A crisis about oil arises in a backward country which cannot by any pretense be called a democracy. Its sovereignty has again and again suffered from foreign intervention, yet the possessors of the only oil concessions mobilize international morality against a non-possessor.

We can assert our leadership as a champion of a strong United Nations only through the justice, the consistency and the success of our own international and domestic policies. Experience has buttressed Soviet apprehensions; only a different experience can diminish it. We must build the constructive functions of the United Nations. We can only add to its police powers by common action within the Security Council. This is not an ideal program for an international government; it is a *modus vivendi*. But we must take care not to exchange an expedient for living for a certainty of dying.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Political Roundup

This is the second of a series of reports analyzing American political developments between now and the November, 1946, elections. – THE EDITORS

Women Candidates. – Both the Democratic and Republican National Committees are emphasizing women's activities this year and encouraging more women to run in the 1946 elections. But up to the present time, few are actually candidates for office, with considerably more on the Democratic than on the Republican side. Mrs. Olive R. Goldman, a progressive, internationalist professor at the University of Illinois, is the unopposed Democratic candidate for Congress from the 19th Illinois District, against the stodgy Republican Representative, McMillen. Judge Sara Hughes of Dallas is trying for the nomination in Hatton Sumner's old district. Mrs. Lolly O'Connell of Anniston, Alabama, will oppose conservative Representative Sam Hobbs. Mrs. Polly Balfe is a candidate for the Democratic nomination to succeed Senator Andrews of Florida. In South Dakota, Democratic national committeewoman Mrs. Jennie O'Hern is making a try for the governorship. Two Republican congresswomen, Clare Luce and Jessie Sumner, are retiring at the end of this term. Thus far Mrs. Suzanne Stevenson, artist and sculptress, is the only new Republican woman candidate announced for national office and her chances of winning the nomination to Mrs. Luce's 4th District seat will be slight if Albert Morano, Mrs. Luce's secretary, decides to try for the job.

Among the women now serving in Congress, Representatives Emily Taft Douglas (D, Ill.) and Helen Douglas Mankin (D, Ga.) are expected to have the toughest fights to keep their seats.

Indiana. – The fighting Republican progressive, Charles M. LaFollette of Indiana, is as unpopular with the GOP bosses in his home state as he is with the old-line party leaders in Congress. The Indiana Republican machine is all set to mow LaFollette down in his drive for the Republican nomination for the seat now held by bumbling old Senator Raymond E. Willis. Nomination in Indiana is by state party convention on June 13; delegates will be selected in a primary election on May 7. LaFollette is now stumping the state for his slate of delegates. The Republican state machine under Governor Gates has apparently decided to abandon Senator Willis, and most of the party regulars are backing William E. Jenner, a young lawyer and straight organization man. Indiana Republicans will have a dramatic choice. There should be no difficulty distinguishing the two men. LaFollette's record is solidly progressive on domestic as well as foreign matters; he has championed the FEPC as well as world organization for peace. Mr. Jenner served as an Army captain, but his platform shows no awareness of the new world conditions created by the war. He is taking his stand as an opponent of "communism, dictatorship, waste, extravagance and regimentation."

Shrewd, conservative Representative Charles Halleck has refused the chairmanship of the Republican National Committee, and LaFollette supporters are not sure what interpretation to place on that move. If Jenner does not look strong enough to win over LaFollette by convention time, Governor Gates may put Halleck in the race as a strong dark-horse candidate. This would represent a sacrifice to Indiana Republicans, who are sure that the Republicans will win control of the House in the '46 elections, for in that case Halleck would probably become majority leader, a more influential job than that of a junior Senator. But they are willing to make even that sacrifice to stop Charlie LaFollette and all that he stands for in the GOP.

Connecticut. – Insiders say Chester Bowles can have the Democratic nomination for Governor of Connecticut if Senator Brien McMahon will back him. They are still not overly friendly.

Pennsylvania. – Democrats, fearful of losing this key state in 1948 unless they can recapture the state offices in 1946, are fighting desperately to defeat Jim Duff for the governorship as well as to return Senator Joe Guffey and the Democratic congressional delegation. At least four Democratic districts are jeopardized by gerrymandering laws passed under this Republican state administration.

Washington. – Senator Hugh Mitchell has a clear field in the Democratic primary. Harry Kane, conservative Tacoma Republican who ran against Warren Magnuson for the Senate while still in the Army, will probably oppose him in the final election. Mitchell's excellent record in the two years since he was appointed to fill out the senatorial term of Governor Wallgren should be enough to return him for a full term on his own with little difficulty.

THE NEW REPUBLIC

A Journal of Opinion

Editors: BRUCE BLIVEN, GEORGE SOULE, MICHAEL STRAIGHT, STARK YOUNG
Managing Editor: NORMAN GRIESER
Treasurer: DANIEL MEBANE
Assistant Editors: HEINZ EULAU, HELEN FULLER, ELIZABETH HULING, RALPH G. MARTIN, GEORGE MAYBERRY
Contributing Editors: H. N. BRAILSFORD, MALCOLM COWLEY, JULIAN HUXLEY, E. C. LINDEMAN, THOMAS SANCTON, REXFORD GUY TUGWELL
Advertising Manager: E. G. WOOD

SINGLE COPIES, FIFTEEN CENTS; YEARLY SUBSCRIPTION, FIVE DOLLARS; CANADIAN SUBSCRIPTION, SIX DOLLARS; FOREIGN, SIX DOLLARS; THREE MONTHS' TRIAL, ONE DOLLAR

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The First Atomic Plan

by Alfred Friendly

THE REPORT of the State Department's consultants on the international control of atomic energy was described officially as "the history of the mental travail of the men who studied the subject."

The characterization is peculiarly accurate and "travail" is the right word. The reader of the document begins it in the same despondency, the same doubt that he will arrive at anything better than a weighing of several not very satisfactory alternatives, from which the writers suffered when they began their work. But as he goes through the 78 pages he is lifted up along with the authors. At the end he sees with them a plan that "can provide a great measure of security against surprise attack," a plan that "can do much more than that. It can create deterrents to the initiation of schemes of aggression, and can establish patterns of coöperation among nations, the extension of which may even contribute to the solution of the problem of war itself."

The men who wrote the report—Lilienthal of the TVA, Oppenheimer of Los Alamos and three executives of industrial firms—learned their geometry well. The document has not alone the method, but also the appeal, the compulsion, the final satisfaction of one of Euclid's propositions. They began their study against the background of commitment for international control of atomic energy contained in the three-power agreement of November 15, 1945. That statement was essentially more despairing than hopeful. It made three points: first, the atomic bomb is a "means of destruction hitherto unknown"; second, there is no military defense against it; third, no single nation, which means the United States, can have a monopoly in its employment.

The consultants looked, as all of us have looked, first at the idea which comes initially and most hopefully to mind, that is, a "covenant" among nations to "outlaw" the bomb. And they discovered, as most people who can conquer wishful thinking have discovered, that the hope is barren. They documented their conclusion beyond argument:

"Although nations may agree not to use in bombs the atomic energy developed within their borders, the only assurance that a conversion to destructive purposes would not be made would be the pledged word and the good faith of the nation itself. That this fact puts an enormous pressure upon national good faith and that indeed it creates suspicion on the part of other nations that their neighbors' pledged word will not be kept is accentuated by the unusual characteristics of atomic bombs, namely, their devastating effect as a surprise weapon, that is, a weapon secretly developed and used without warning."

THE REPORT proceeds to the next step along the path we all have followed: What if the pledged word is reinforced by a high-power inspection system? If the report does nothing else, it scotches this notion. The argument is disagreeably conclusive:

As long as the production of fissionable materials is conducted by individual nations, or organizations under their control, the inspector can prove a violation only by proving that the motive of a specific act was illegal. For the basic steps toward production of atomic materials for war parallel to a large degree the steps leading to peacetime uses. Furthermore, an inspector would have to watch every stage of activity, from mining of uranium to assembly of a thing which may or may not be a bomb. The inspector must know more than the laboratory he inspects about the latest wrinkles—very complex and abstruse wrinkles—of atomic science. He must also hope to detect what cannot be detected, which is the surreptitious sneaking out of an inspected plant a small amount of material with which large amounts of an explosive could be made at a secret plant. And what kind of inspectors could one get for this negative, sterile, flat-foot job? Certainly only the Volstead-era type, who would be useless, or worse.

There are too many chances for leaks, too many opportunities for slip-ups. So, while the system was being tried, there would be a universal fear that it was failing. And each nation would know that its neighbor had the potentialities for making bombs. There would be rivalries for raw materials infinitely more divisive and conducive to distrust than the present rivalries for oil. In short, there would be no "relief from the terrible fear which can do so much to engender the very thing feared."

"We have concluded unanimously," the consultants declare, "that there is no prospect of security against atomic warfare in a system of international agreements to outlaw such weapons controlled *only* by a system which relies on inspection and similar police-like methods. . . . So long as intrinsically dangerous activities

---

Alfred Friendly has been a Washington newspaper reporter since 1936. After returning from military service to the Washington Post *last September, he has covered economic and labor stories and, more recently, news about atomic energy.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

may be carried on by nations, rivalries are inevitable and fears are engendered that place so great a pressure upon a system of international enforcement by police methods that no degree of ingenuity or technical competence could possibly hope to cope with them."

But the solution is simple enough: put the dangerous activities not merely under the inspection of an international agency, but under its ownership and direct operation. Leave to individual countries only the safe activities.

A simple solution, to be sure, but is it feasible? Thanks to the Army's policy of secrecy, the proof is lacking. The scientific assumptions on which the program depends have for proof only the word of the men who wrote the report. As much of the matter as they could tell they have told. These are their conclusions: Uranium and, to a lesser extent, thorium, are the only two elements whose mining and processing need be watched; the means of making atomic explosives from other elements and processes—as hydrogen is made into energy in the sun—are not in the cards; after the primary processing stages, the materials can be handed down to the nations of the world in a denatured state, useful for every peacetime purpose but incapable of being made into a bomb without a "spectacular," easily spotted, modification of plant, plus the application of scientific brains—a matter of from two to three years' time.

THE PROPOSED SOLUTION calls for the creation under the United Nations of an agency which may be referred to as the Atomic Development Authority. It would have a monopoly on the prospecting for and the mining and refining of uranium and thorium. It would be the exclusive producer of fissionable materials, the only agent enriching U-235 and operating the reactors that produce plutonium. It alone would conduct research in the making of atomic bombs. The materials it produced—denatured or in safely small quantities—would be passed on to individual nations. They would be adequate for every known peacetime purpose, even to the running of large atomic-power plants.

The consultant group set for itself six criteria for an effective system of safeguards. Their solution seems to satisfy them all.

1. *The plan "must reduce to manageable proportions the problems of enforcement."* Only a minimum inspection service is needed, because any violation would, by the nature of the process, be "notorious." The principal problem is to make sure that no secret deposits of uranium and thorium are being worked, and that no new system for effective extraction from low-grade ores is discovered and put into secret operation. Since the ADA would itself conduct the world's most intensive geological surveys and research programs, the danger is minimized if not entirely averted.

2. *The plan must provide "unambiguous and reliable danger signals" of violation, flashed "early enough to leave time adequate to permit other nations . . . to take appropriate action."* The plan meets this requirement because no question of motive or purpose need be considered; the mere act by one nation in undertaking an illegal operation is sign enough, and the operations are such that it is inconceivable for them to be done so clandestinely as to escape notice.

3. *The plan must be one which, if carried out, provides security; but such that if it fails or if the whole international system collapses, any nation, including our own, will still be in a relatively secure position, compared to other nations.* No nation can be secure, of course, if another nation chooses to make atomic bombs; that is our present dilemma. But if the plan works, and no nation makes bombs, we are, of course, secure from that threat. If it fails, there will still be located within our borders the plants and scientists able to make bombs, leaving us in as much of a "relatively secure position" as we can ever have after a few years in an atomic-armament race.

4. *The inspection plan must not be wholly negative, or police-like.* It will not be, for the inspection force will be the staff of the ADA, primarily concerned with the positive, productive aspects of research and development. In this way, and in no other, can competent and effective inspectors be attracted to the job.

5. *The plan must be able to cope with new dangers that may appear with further developments in nuclear science.* Well, the ADA staff will obviously consist of the luminaries in the field, and be doing the most significant research. They will be the first to discover new tricks in the trade, good or bad.

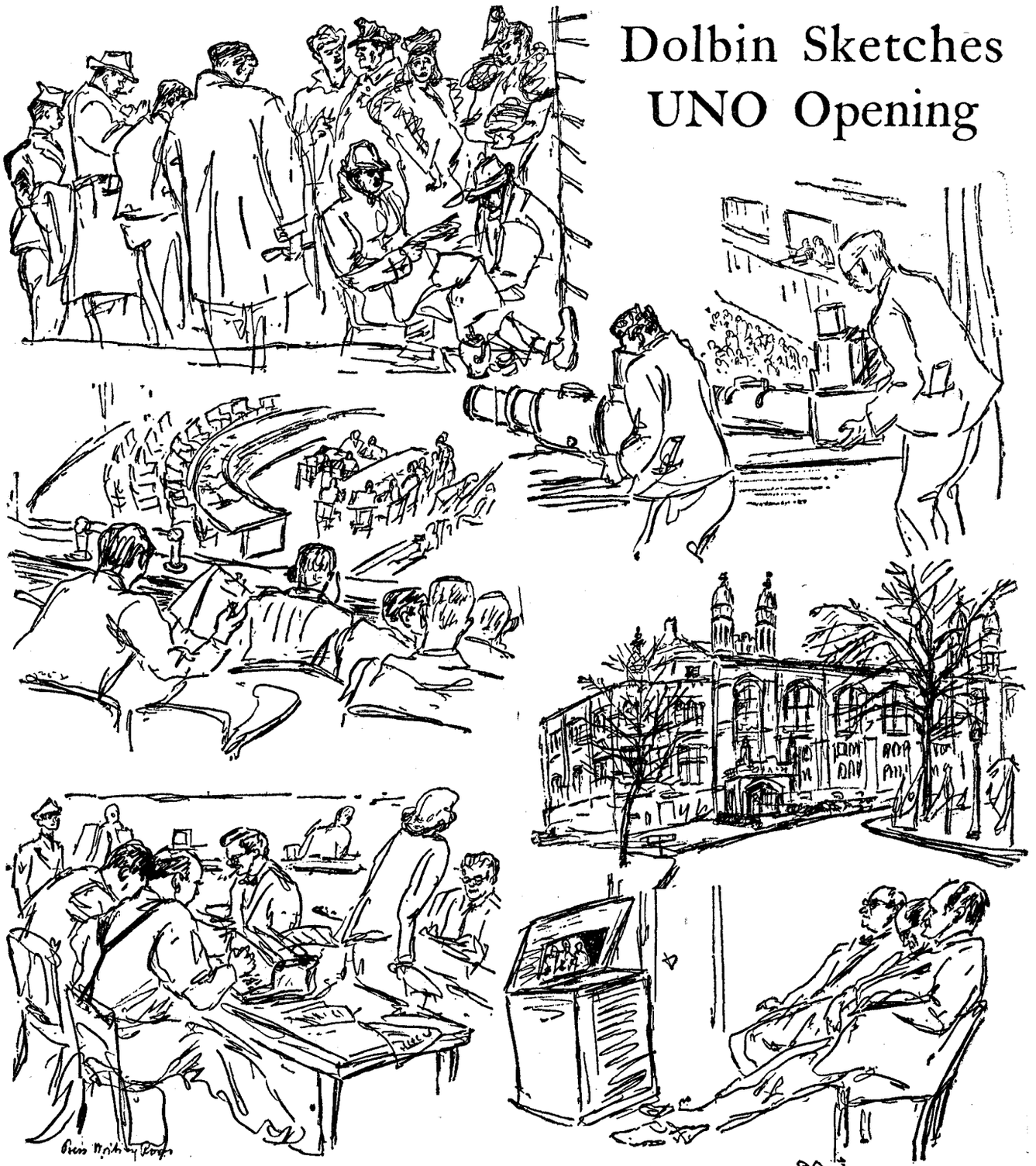
6. *The plan must involve international action and minimize rivalry between nations.* It is international, and the rivalry for raw materials and for bomb-useful processes disappears if no bombs are made, and if the peace-useful products are fairly distributed to every nation which can use them.

AND FOR THIS, what do we give up? Initially, absolutely nothing, no "secrets" which a War Department committee has not already recommended that we disclose even in the absence of a system for international control of the bomb. Ultimately, but not until after the ADA is set up and working, not until it owns and operates the mines and primary processes, not until several years have elapsed—years in which other nations would certainly discover for themselves what we now know—would we give up the secrets of the bomb itself.

The report concludes, "When the plan is in full operation, there will be no secrets about atomic energy. We believe that this is the firmest basis for security; for in the long term there can be no international control and no international coöperation which does not presuppose an international community of knowledge."

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Dolbin Sketches UNO Opening



Hunter was crowded . . . reporters interview the forty lucky spectators first in line . . . cameramen use long-range lenses from the press gallery . . . the overflow crowd of reporters watches the session by television in an anteroom . . . wounded veterans see the story unfolded, hear its implications through the undertones of suffering not yet forgotten . . . the press bats out the copy . . . the story is confused, hurried, obscured by details . . . it is the story of a world stumbling toward unity.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Reuther Takes Over

by Edwin A. Lahey

Atlantic City

THE 2,000 DELEGATES to the tenth convention of the CIO United Automobile Workers launched a new era in American labor history when, by a narrow squeak, they elected Walter P. Reuther to the presidency of their union.

The kind of labor news that will come out of Detroit henceforth will depend largely on the success with which Reuther performs his first assignment—that of unifying the diverse political forces within the union, where factional politics has been raised to a high level of rancor and bitterness. Reuther had a majority of only 124 out of 8,830 votes when he defeated R. J. Thomas, which suggests a shaky leadership until he rallies support from his disgruntled colleagues.

Assuming that Reuther can consolidate his new position as leader of the UAW-CIO, his union program will have an important impact upon the CIO and the country generally. Reuther is energetic, ambitious and opportunistic, and his program for making the auto workers (and Reuther) a vital force in the national community must be taken at its full face value.

Among Reuther's many virtues, humility and self-effacement are not prominent, and some idea of Reuther's aspirations may be gleaned from his biographical sketch, the lead paragraph of which says:

"The popular strength and appeal of Walter P. Reuther are no mystery—they can be explained by the fact that the red-headed leader of the United Automobile Workers, CIO, possesses both the traditional virtues of trade-unionists and newer, rarer qualities fitting him to champion labor's cause in the turbulent atomic age."

Of the General Motors strike, a costly 113-day episode which every convention spectator wrongly supposed had cost Reuther his chance at the presidency of the union, the sketch continues:

"Under his leadership in this struggle, organized labor for the first time began to think and act not merely as a narrow economic pressure group but as a broad movement of citizens concerned not only with wages, hours and working conditions, but also with prices, production levels and the whole impact of a complex economy on the everyday lives of our people."

Reuther's political enemies, retiring President R. J. Thomas and Secretary-Treasurer George F. Addes, do not share these sentiments. A leaflet put out by their faction during the convention described the GM strike as a "partial victory," accused Reuther of "unscrupulous irresponsibility" in "jumping the gun" on that strike for his own glorification, and said with a frankness that must have pleased the officers of General Motors: "The phony idea that prices can be set by collective bargaining between labor and industry was used to lead us astray in the GM strike."

ON THE BASIS of Reuther's aspirations and his initial statement as president of the UAW that he had a united union, the course of its activities may be forecast for the coming year and a half.

There will be demands for increased wages with no increase in prices.

There will be a push for a guaranteed annual wage in the automobile industry, preceded by an offer by the union to coöperate with the industry in revising its wasteful merchandising practises—under which there are violent fluctuations in production schedules—to prepare for new models.

There will be strenuous official disapproval of "company-security" clauses, like the one recently incorporated in the Ford wage agreement. Reuther, as head of the union's General Motors division, has a better record than any other UAW divisional chief in the total of unauthorized strikes, and he believes that the answer to the corporations' problem in the matter of work stoppages is a positive program of "union responsibility," which will be one of his major objectives as president.

Outside the border of strictly union business (this is an imaginary border to Reuther, since he opposes the idea that a union is a narrow pressure group) there will be a campaign for the conversion of excess aircraft plants to the production of prefabricated housing; an attack upon restrictive building codes; and a vigorous attempt to obtain full utilization of government-owned war plants. Of these, Reuther says: "If private enterprise will not use [them], they must be converted into public corporations and coöperatives and operated under democratic controls in the public interest."

The assumption that Reuther can forge the rival political factions of the UAW into a reasonable facsimile of unity is, of course, a big one. It became big when Thomas, on the day after his sensational defeat, accepted the nomination as vice-president of the union. Whatever the reason for the decision, the continued presence of Thomas in the auto-workers' hierarchy will not make for a happy life for President Reuther in his earnest development as a "man of destiny."

Edwin A. Lahey, one of the country's leading labor reporters, is on the staff of the Washington bureau of the Chicago Daily News.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

But the election of Reuther was a real revolution in American labor history. His was a victory of sheer competence and ruthless political ambition and sagacity.

We have grown up thinking that labor skates were fat and lethargic. Reuther is lean and athletic, and it would not surprise the writer in the least if history some day reveals that he takes cold showers and does setting-up exercises before an open window in the morning.

The traditional labor guy has never been much on book learning. Reuther, a student as well as a worker since childhood, has his mind lined with statistical charts from which, at the drop of a hat, he can prove humorlessly that industry can afford to pay higher wages within the present framework of price control.

Most labor men are pretty good drinkers, and make friends and keep them in bar-rooms during convention time. If Reuther was ever in a gin mill, the incident has been overlooked in recorded history. Union politicians—even the supposed "highbrows" in the clothing unions in New York—play poker and shoot craps. If Reuther even knows that the opposite sides of the dice total seven, he must have picked up the information in a study of permutations and combinations. Reuther has none of the charm of fallible men who go through life committing indiscretions and deviating from the path of moral righteousness. He lacks human warmth.

In the absence of all those defects of character that go to make up human appeal and sensitivity, the answer to Reuther's power lies in his remarkable technical competence; the brilliance of his public relations; his genius for making simple presentations of complex economic issues; and, above all, his unceasing diligence in the art of building political fences.

Few of the political factionalists in the UAW are neutral toward Reuther. They are either fanatically devoted to him or spitefully jealous. Reuther's unquestioned abilities, plus his lack of human foibles and warmth, are what his critics resent most fiercely.

The Communists, of whom there are some in the auto workers, hate Reuther passionately. He has returned the sentiment, and is rather quick to say of any critic that he is following the Communist Party line. This was Reuther's answer to the convention charge that he would lead the UAW out of the CIO if he were elected president. The charge was probably fantastic, and one is inclined to agree with Reuther when he says that he couldn't lead the auto workers into the AFL even if he wanted to. All Reuther would need would be one afternoon with a few of the AFL labor skates like John L. Lewis and "Big Bill" Hutcheson, and he would go down in history as just another name on the Missing Persons Report.

There is a temptation to project a forecast of Reuther's future beyond the presidency of the auto workers. He has been accused of dreaming about the presidency of the CIO, and some attention must be paid to these accusations, since even Reuther's dreams are probably systematic and logical. Realism leads one to believe that for a long time to come Reuther will be too busy consolidating (or preserving) his leadership to worry about other conquests. One of his first statements pledged loyalty to CIO President Murray.

Whatever happens in the UAW under Reuther, it is certain to continue to be America's most interesting, most anarchically democratic union.

Drawn for the New Republic *by Stephen Ettinger*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

A Program for Peace

by Senator Claude Pepper

THE GRIM DANGER of atomic war which hangs over America and the world makes imperative the most searching scrutiny of the root causes of our situation, and calls for the utmost candor and bluntness in reporting our findings. We should bring to our task an abiding conviction of the supreme importance of peace based on justice, and the courage to expose the causes of war and the makers of war.

Before all the veterans of this war have come back to their families, people are talking of war again, and there is fright and furor among the Big Three, who only yesterday celebrated their joint defeat of Germany and Japan. Fostering the fears and suspicions of the Big Three are national chauvinism and imperial vanity, the dregs of isolationism, the machinations of war mongers and dispossessed fascist tycoons. But, at bottom, this international tension, this crisis of confidence, is the reflection of the desperate reaching out by the nations for security.

The drastic security measures being taken by the United States, Great Britain and the Soviet Union need no elaboration to readers of the *New Republic.* The United States is nursing exclusive possession of the atomic bomb, seeking globe-girdling military bases and considering military conscription. Britain, which can ill afford to expend manpower and resources for purposes other than economic reconstruction, maintains a large army and navy along her ancient lifeline of empire. Russian measures to achieve a comparable security for a nation that has known the horrors of war, as Britain and America have fortunately never known them, have been the subject of too many scare headlines and fear-mongering radio flashes to require citation here.

Russia is strong today, but after a bitter yesterday she looks apprehensively to the future. She is suspicious, and we cannot say that her suspicions are groundless. Her historic desire for warm-water outlets is stymied. Her objective of friendly people's governments in countries surrounding her is obstructed. Her request for negotiations on a commercial, arm's-length loan is pigeonholed. And there is that long and tragic legacy of the years of counter-revolution, and intervention, conspiracy and boycott, which makes her feel that she will never be genuinely accepted by nations dominated by cartelists, imperialists or Russophobes.

We may begin our discussion of the way out of this web of fear and suspicion by a warning about the blind alleys which don't lead out, but, instead, confuse us all the more. There is the blind alley of nationalism, isolationalism or unilateralism. No nation today is strong enough to be secure alone, even if it has, in the words of Senator Connally, "an adequate Army, a superior Navy and a superlative Air Force"—and even, I might add, the almighty bomb.

Another blind alley is the program of "getting tough," of wielding the big stick of atomic power. The major powers don't frighten easily. They go about getting bigger sticks, and we begin that never ending vicious cycle of measure and counter-measure.

A third blind alley is the balance-of-power, or bloc, or bilateral-alliance conception of security. These belong to a dead day, and they cannot be made to live for our day—not even if a most eloquent voice calls the power bloc a "fraternal association."

And finally, I must insist most regretfully, that at the present time and under the present circumstances and leadership, the United Nations Organization is not the way out of the web of fear. The United Nations was founded upon the principle of the unity and solidarity of the Big Three. It is a compact of sovereign states and not a super-state or a world government, as our recently converted isolationist Senators never fail to remind us. It could not and would not have been approved by the United States if it had been anything else. Flowing from the principle of unimpaired sovereignty is the veto provision, and the veto provision makes imperative the fostering of Big Three unity if the UNO is to become a working reality.

HEADLINES on the handling of the Iranian dispute by the Security Council give fresh confirmation to this analysis, which I first expressed in my Senate speech of March 20. The UNO cannot function effectively in solving the security problems of the Big Three so long as some of its leading members regard it as a forum where they can score debater's points, technical triumphs and legalistic victories. It was never expected that the UNO would function save upon the sturdy base provided by the unity of Great Britain, Russia and the United States. And just as we found it necessary to negotiate the pending loan to Britain in order to lay a safe foundation for the Bretton Woods Bank and Fund, so must we lay the foundations of Big Three confidence which will make it possible for the UNO to function effectively. I cannot help but question the wisdom of those who would, before securing its foundations, put too severe a strain upon the unproved structure of the UNO.

Claude Pepper, a strong supporter of Administration policies, is Junior Senator from Florida.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The way out of the crisis of fear, the way to save the UNO and the peace, is to carry out the grand conception of Franklin Delano Roosevelt, the architect of Big Three unity and the UNO. The main task of an American program oriented for peace is, I submit, to enhance the strength and unity of the Big Three.

TO THAT END I have proposed an immediate meeting of the heads of the governments of Great Britain, Russia and the United States, to preside at a full-scale conference of representatives of their countries. In addition to the professional diplomats from the several foreign offices, I urge that the delegation include members representative of the people of our countries. Only in this way can we ensure that the delegations will be truly representative of the will to peace of the great masses of the people of the three countries, and equal to the gravity and comprehensiveness of the issues to be considered. I feel we should send an Eisenhower, and the Russians should send a Zhukov, and the British an Alexander, and others who, like these men, have shown an ability to work successfully with foreign colleagues and to inspire their respect and confidence. We should include among the conferees businessmen, labor leaders, farm leaders, women and war veterans.

The scope and agenda of the conference must be the restoration of confidence among the Big Three by working out agreement on pivotal issues—military, economic, political—which today are holding up agreement on the specific issues that come before the Security Council. The objective of the conference, despite the broad range of its agenda, is not to displace the UNO, but only to clear the way for the Security Council and the General Assembly.

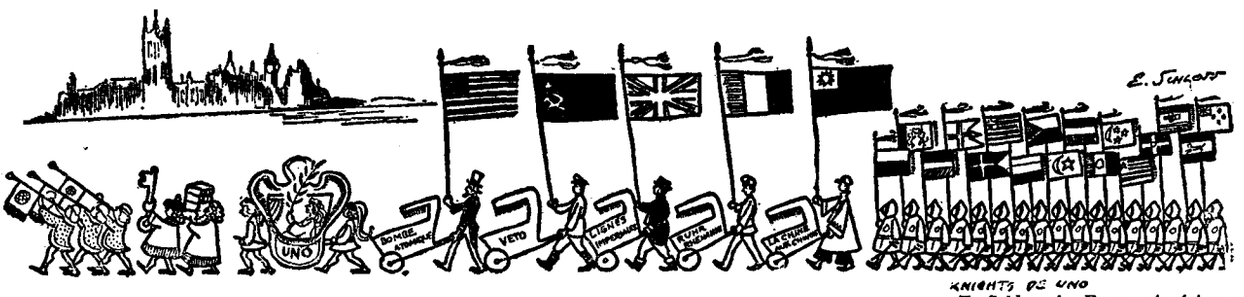
The United States will have prime responsibility in ensuring the success of this conference. Accordingly, while it might be easier and more politic to admonish the other members of the Big Three, I think it more consonant with America's position of unprecedented prestige and power, to devote our consideration to *our* obligations. We must bring to the conference table a new foreign policy, clearly defined and vigorously implemented—a program of international coöperation designed first and foremost to meet the people's need and desire for peace. Such a program will include the following policies:

First, the Axis Countries. We must ensure that Germany and Japan will never be allowed to make war again. This means that we must thoroughly carry out our purpose of demilitarization, denazification, decentralization, decartelization and reëducation of the German people. A similar program must be ruthlessly applied in Japan.

Second, Atomic Power. It is folly to think that there can be a stable and secure world as long as only some of the major powers have the atomic bomb. The United States must propose a covenant to the Big Three looking to the destruction of all existing atom bombs and all facilities exclusively designed for making atomic weapons, on condition that the fullest access to all of our countries shall be allowed to representatives of the Security Council to investigate compliance with the covenant. Our agreement to destroy our bomb-making facilities should contain the additional condition that all the present and future body of knowledge respecting atomic energy shall be freely poured into the international channels of science and become the common property and the newest servant of mankind.

To the cautious and the canny who may regard this proposal as hopelessly idealistic, I say that it is based on the sheerest pragmatism and self-interest. The men who built the bomb have told us time and again that the atomic secret cannot long be kept by anyone. The alternative to my proposal is a desperate atomic-armament race and, in the end, war—a war in which there will be victory neither for the side with the "best" bombs nor for the side which hurls them first. Only if all nations have atomic knowledge, and all of us outlaw its destructive uses, can there be any security for any of us. And if at the same time the nations launch collectively a universal research program designed to employ atomic power as an instrument of peace, we can lift the human race to heights of security, abundance and happiness which would have seemed fantastic before the discovery of atomic power.

Third, Strategic Bases. The United States must adopt a policy of joint occupation by the Security Council powers of the strategic army, navy and air bases held by any nation outside its own homeland. We can no more expect Russia to accept her confinement behind the iron curtain of military and naval bases, fleets and air forces of the Western European powers and the United States than we can expect her to submit supinely to being shut in behind a curtain of atomic arm-



KNIGHTS OF UNO
E. Schloss in France-Amérique

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

aments. Britain and the United States must face up realistically to the fact that Russia will not acquiesce indefinitely in the mastery of every ocean and sea and virtually every strategic area on the earth by Britain and the United States. Of course, each nation which now has treasured bases will feel that it is being asked to give up an essential to its security, but if we all give up exclusive occupation and do it in a new spirit of reliance on the Security Council, we will each be far better guaranteed against attack than we would be by exclusive possession and control in a jittery atomic world.

Fourth, Access to Raw Materials. The United States must be prepared so to implement the covenant of the Atlantic Charter that nations shall have equal access to the critical raw materials of the earth. I wonder what America's attitude would be if the great powers of the world had obtained the exclusive rights to exploit the oil resources of Mexico, and the United States had been denied access to them. Our history is, after all, not free of diplomatic and military intervention on behalf of private economic elbow-room, and certainly the great oil resources in the Middle East now enjoyed by foreign countries were procured and retained by recourse to the tactics of power politics. The great oil reserves of Saudi Arabia, the largest after the Unted States, are an exclusive concession held by two United States companies. In Iran the British hold all the concessions for the exploitation of the extensive oil deposits. Is it really surprising, therefore, that the Russians have been seeking oil concessions in the north of Iran, adjacent to the Russian homeland? If we are to have peace, we must provide fair and peaceful methods for nations to gain access to the strategic and the critical materials of the modern world.

Fifth, Colonies. America must take the lead in bringing about transformation of the colonial system. The colonial question involves not only the matter of access to raw materials, but, more important, it goes to the very heart of the future of democracy and freedom in the modern world. It is offensive to the living, and an affront to the dead, that nations so recently liberated from the Nazi oppressors by American blood and treasure should so soon become the oppressors of others.

At the request of any colonial people, any mandate granted by the League of Nations should be revoked, or, if the mandated area is not ready for independence, assigned to the international control of the UNO Trusteeship Council. The tranquillity of the whole Middle East can best be assured by the removal of the armies of the foreign powers and the placing of Palestine under the Trusteeship Council.

Del in France-Amérique

—Gentlemen, the delegate from Grotalonga has come to make a communication about a new weapon. . . .

Sixth, Economic Collaboration. While the preceding five proposals go directly to the question of security, the matter of economic collaboration among the Big Three is hardly less important in the restoration of mutual confidence. Here America, which has emerged from the war with approximately half of the world's industrial capacity, must take the lead or be the nation to suffer most. We cannot have full employment—without which democracy cannot really flourish in America—unless we employ our unprecedented financial and industrial strength to supply the great export markets. Nor can the torn fabric of the world's economy be repaired without our aid and support. To promote the twin objectives of full employment in America and the rehabilitation of the war-torn lands of our allies, we must adopt a liberal foreign-loan policy.

For the United States, economic isolationism is as dangerous as political isolationism. There cannot be true peace except upon a stable economic base. There cannot be genuine international security if the life of the people is unsatisfactory and insecure. To deny a loan for useful purposes reasonably within a nation's ability to repay is as dangerous to the security of the United States as it would have been to deny Lend-Lease during the war to one of our allies.

It is folly to think of rejecting the British loan. A prosperous Britain is necessary to a prosperous world and a prosperous America. And a loan to Russia, France or China is just as right as a loan to Britain. To deny a loan to Russia because we fear her or hate communism means that we drive Russia to tightening instead of liberalizing her economy, to restricting instead of extending the liberties and the living standards of her people; it means that we force her to the conclusion that we will never be her real friend, and that her future must be made through her own strength and by going her separate way.

To make a success of the conference, we need also a new order of thinking and a new attitude on the part of the delegates commissioned to represent us. We need men who believe earnestly in promoting international understanding and coöperation. In the last year,

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

few, if any, men in America have had an influence upon American foreign policy equal to Senator Vandenberg's. His ability and his leadership in the Republican Party have given him and a small coterie of followers a great—even a disproportionate—influence in foreign affairs. Since the issue is nothing less than war or peace, it cannot be uncharitable or unkind to recall that the Senator from Michigan failed his country as a sentinel when the menace of Hitler rose and loomed large upon the horizon. As he admonishes Russia today, he may be sure that, however fair he intends to be in his counsel, Russia will ever remember that he joined those who voted to make it illegal to extend Lend-Lease to Russia three months before Hitler struck her in 1941.

It was the cry of the isolationist and nationalist in 1940 that the safeguard of America's security was the two oceans. Today's nationalism and the new isolationism hold that our possession of the atom bomb permits us to strike out on a unilateral course. Today's nationalism seeks to turn over to the military effective control of atomic energy. Senator Vandenberg is the leading advocate of these policies. I am not satisfied that Senator Vandenberg can effectively support the specific policies of international coöperation on which alone a peace program can be based, unless he establishes convincingly that he has forsaken the premises and the habits of isolationism.

War today is not made by a single overwhelming decision. It is made by an accumulation along the way of minor decisions, witting and unwitting, which make the final decision of war inevitable. War develops step by deliberate step; it creeps up mistake by mistake, misjudgment after misjudgment, until, too late, the guns go off.

We can avoid the drift along the road to war only if we work positively and aggressively for peace—for a peace based on the brotherhood and sovereign equality of the peoples of the world, and on the needs and welfare of mankind.

California for the Rich?

by Bruce Bliven

San Francisco

One of the biggest scandals in the history of this country—another Teapot Dome in its implications—is in the making today in California. The great Central Valley Project, California's TVA, is being sabotaged by the joint efforts of California's wealthy ranch owners, the private electric utilities and, I am sorry to say, the United States Army Engineers. Unless this conspiracy against the public welfare is blocked, California's development may be set back and the state's resources turned over, even more completely than at present, to big aggregations of capital working strictly in their own interest.

The Central Valley Project, as faithful *New Republic* readers will remember[1], is an ambitious plan for irrigation, flood-control and hydroelectric power. Most of California is a vast oval-shaped valley, 500 by 100 miles, running north and south, with the Coast Range on its western boundary and the Sierra Nevada on the east. It has a number of rivers draining into Central Valley, two of which—the Kings and Kern—rise in the southeast and lose themselves in the swamplands of the Tulare basin.

The northern half of this vast Central Valley has two-thirds of the water supply; the southern half has two-thirds of the arable, irrigable land. This half, commonly called the San Joaquin Valley, has been using up its water faster than nature could restore it. A few years ago, the underground "water table" was sinking lower and lower, and 50,000 acres of rich, fertile land were about to be abandoned to the desert. Yet California's great rivers, fed by melting snows in the high mountains, at certain times of the year have poured torrents of water down into the semi-arid plains, doing heavy flood damage.

Out of all this grew a great plan comparable with the original concept of the TVA. It was first known as the "Marshall Plan," because originally brought forward by Colonel Robert B. Marshall of the United States Geological Survey. In the beginning it was a California state project. Then the state petitioned the federal government to undertake its construction. Here are the chief elements of the plan:

1. A series of dams in the mountains to impound the water and let it out in orderly fashion as needed.

2. A series of hydroelectric generating stations at some of these dams, to aid industrial development.

3. A giant pumping scheme to force excess water from the northern part of the valley, where there is a surplus, into the southern part, where there is a deficit.

4. A plan to freshen the water around the joint mouth of the Sacramento and San Joaquin Rivers and thus prevent the encroachment of salt water, which has threatened the ruin of 400,000 very rich acres.

This is one of several articles reporting on conditions in various Western states. — THE EDITORS

[1] See the series of articles by Walter Packard in our issues of July 2, July 23 and August 13, 1945. — THE EDITORS

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

This tremendous plan is now in process of being carried out by the Reclamation Bureau. Some of the biggest dams and hydroelectric installations are already completed, or nearly so. (One of them, Shasta, is the second largest and the second highest in the world.) Yet the plan has had bitter, inveterate enemies who have fought it from first to last, and are still doing so. At this moment they are trying to wreck a major aspect of the plan through new federal legislation, aided by certain congressmen.

WHO OPPOSES the CVP, and why?

First of all, there is the Pacific Gas and Electric Company, a giant private utility dominating the state politically and opposed to any and all publicly owned electric-power resources, just as the utilities of the Southeast fought the TVA at its inception.

Second, there are the wealthy ranch owners of the San Joaquin Valley, where holdings of 10,000 to 40,000 acres are not uncommon. These ranchers of course want water on their land; but they don't want it from federal projects developed under the federal reclamation law. That four-decade-old law, properly and wisely, limits any one farmer's share of project water under a federal irrigation project to a supply sufficient for 160 acres (or 320 for man and wife). Without this protection, federal irrigation projects would promote an industrial enterprise with an owner —often an absentee owner or a corporation—hiring Okies or Mexicans to work the land under the conditions described by Steinbeck in *The Grapes of Wrath*. The big ranchers, whose political arm is the notorious Associated Farmers, want the 160-acre rule repealed.

They also want their water free, or as nearly free as possible. The present federal reclamation law requires the owners of land benefited by a federal project to pay a fee for their water which, in the course of a reasonable length of time (and aided in some cases by the profits on hydroelectric power) will amortize the original investment—without interest, however. The big ranchers object to such amortization.

The third enemy of the CVP is the Army Corps of Engineers. For various and complicated reasons into which I have no space to go, the Army Engineers are almost always and everywhere to be found on the side of wealth and power, against the plain people. From the beginning they have been allied with the PGE and the Associated Farmers, against the CVP. It is as illogical and absurd for the Army to try to handle California's irrigation and hydroelectric problems as it is for it to struggle with flood control on the lower Mississippi, but it happens. The charge that "vested interests" are behind the Army Engineers was made in so many words in a public speech on February 28 by Edward Hyatt, California State Engineer, and everyone in California knows it to be true.

What the Army wants to do with the CVP is simple and clear-cut. The Army would omit all hydroelectric generating stations as far as possible, or, if forced by public pressure to instal them, would sell all power at the dam minus transmission lines, thus making sure that the public reaped no benefits in the form of abundant, cheap power. The Army, after building in other places low-level, flood-control dams with no generators, would give the water to the big ranchers at a token payment—an obvious injustice to hundreds of thousands of small farmers throughout the West who are paying full rates. And the Army would evade the 160-acre limit, thus making possible bigger and more permanent "factories in the field."

I have no space to tell here in detail how the PGE and its allies have fought the CVP down the years, though the story is a fascinating one. The PGE strikes mostly in the dark, with lobbyists who leave no telltale footprints in the form of public documents. It has succeeded, thus far, in preventing the CVP from building and operating most of the transmission lines it needs for its power; the CVP must sell at or near the power plant to its only possible customer, the PGE, and at the PGE's price. Electricity from mountain streams is erratic in quantity; it needs supplementing from coal-steam plants; the PGE has prevented the CVP from building these. And so on.

THREE TIMES in recent years efforts have been made to kill the CVP by turning over essential parts of the program to the Army Engineers; each time overwhelming public protest has come to the rescue. Now a fourth attempt is in progress. Senator Knowland of California, a man who sheds no tears for any liberal cause, has introduced an addition to the civil-functions appropriation bill which would let the Army Engineers start flood-control and irrigation projects on the Kings and Kern Rivers. Unless his amendment (which has already passed the Senate) is defeated, it will:

1. Prevent hydroelectric development on these rivers.
2. Kill the 160-acre limitation.
3. Give the big ranchers water worth an average of $100 per acre, at only a nominal cost, so that the expense of the flood-control and irrigation projects will come out of the pockets of taxpayers in general—our little gift of *two million dollars* to the owner of every 20,000-acre ranch.

The hope of Senator Knowland (who seems to have the tacit support of his California colleague, Senator Downey, as well) is that he can sneak this plan through before the public finds out about it. Three times before public hearings have killed off similar plans. Unless we can get another public hearing now, the great Central Valley Project will receive what may well be a death blow as regards one of its most important, and most valuable, phases.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Jackson's War with the Bank

by Arthur M. Schlesinger Jr.

Jackson's reform program began with a redistribution of federal offices—a measure known invidiously to later generations as the spoils system, but initiated by Jackson with the aim of destroying class monopoly of government jobs. This action was followed by the Maysville veto, which ended the American System policy of government aid to private corporations. The main issue, however, was to be the question of the United States Bank—that institution which Alexander Hamilton regarded as the keystone of the alliance between the national government and the business community. Jackson's resolution of this issue brought on the most spectacular (though far from the last) struggle between the government and a private corporation. The Bank War, indeed, supplies the classic pattern for this conflict so fundamental to the development of American democracy. Even at the relatively undeveloped stage of American capitalism of the age of Jackson, the people at large could not exert their control over huge corporations through any system of non-governmental pressure, but only through the process of government intervention. Hayek-ism didn't work any better a century ago than it does today.

IN 1836 the charter of the Second Bank of the United States was to expire. This institution was not in the later sense a national bank. It was a banking corporation, located in Philadelphia, privately controlled, but possessing unique and profitable relations with the government. To its capital of thirty-five million dollars, the government had subscribed one fifth. It served as repository of the public funds, which it could use for its own banking purposes without payment of interest. It could issue bank notes up to the physical ability of the president and cashier to sign them; after 1827 it evaded this limitation by the invention of "branch drafts," which looked and circulated like notes but were actually bills of exchange. The Bank was not to be taxed by the states and no similar institution was to be chartered by Congress. In return for these privileges the Bank paid a bonus of one and a half million dollars, transferred public funds and made public payments without charge, and allowed the government to appoint five out of the twenty-five directors. The Secretary of the Treasury could remove the government deposits provided he laid the reasons before Congress.

NICHOLAS BIDDLE, an able, suave and cosmopolitan Philadelphian, was only thirty-seven when he became president of the Bank in 1823. He had been known mainly as a literary man—an early training which instilled a weakness for writing public letters that would often prove embarrassing. One English traveler pronounced him "the most perfect specimen of an American gentleman that I had yet seen" and commended his "exemption from national characteristics."

As head of the Bank, he inclined to pursue an active policy; but up to 1830 all his ventures had succeeded, he had taken no unnecessary risks (except perhaps for the "branch-draft" device) and his judgment was universally respected.

Biddle not only suppressed all internal dissent but insisted flatly that the Bank was not accountable to the government or the people. In 1824 the president of the Washington branch had written Biddle, "As . . . there are other interests to be attended to [besides those of the Bank], especially that of the Government, I have deemed it proper to see and consult with the President." Biddle hotly replied, "If . . . you think that there are other interests to be attended to besides those with which you are charged by the administration of the bank, we deem it right to correct what is a total misapprehension. . . . The moment this appointment [of the five government directors] takes place the Executive has completely fulfilled its functions. The entire responsibility is thenceforward in the directors, and no officer of the Government, from the President downwards, has the least right, the least authority, the least pretence, for interference in the concerns of the bank. . . . This invocation of the Government, therefore . . . is totally inconsistent with the temper and spirit which belong to the officers of the bank, who should regard only the rights of the bank and the instructions of those who govern it, and who should be at all times prepared to execute the orders of the board, in direct opposition, if need be, to the personal interests and wishes of the President and every officer of the Government." For all his ability, Nicholas Biddle suffered from a fatal self-confidence, a disposition to underrate his opponents and a lack of political imagination.

This is the third of ten instalments—30,000 words in all—from The Age of Jackson *(Little, Brown), condensed with the approval of the author, who has added some new material further to point up the many parallels between our own times and those of a century ago.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The war against the Bank enlisted the enthusiastic support of two basically antagonistic groups; on the one hand, debtor interests of the West and local banking interests of the East; on the other, Eastern workingmen and champions of the radical Jeffersonian tradition. The essential incompatibility between cheap money and hard could be somewhat concealed in the clamor of the crusade. Yet that incompatibility remained, and it came to represent increasingly a difference between the Western and Eastern wings of the party, as the state banking groups gradually abandoned the Jackson ranks. It was, indeed, a new form of the distinction between Western and Eastern readings of "equality." The West, in its quest for political democracy and home rule, did not object to paper money under local control, while the submerged classes of the East, seeking economic democracy, fought the whole banking swindle, as it seemed to them, root and branch.

Biddle sought to make a deal with the administration, while working on public opinion through newspaper articles, loans to editors and personal contacts. But his ultimate reliance was on two of the nation's giants, Henry Clay and Daniel Webster.

HENRY CLAY was the most beloved politician of the day. He was tall and a little stooped, with a sandy complexion, gray, twinkling eyes, and a sardonic and somewhat sensual mouth, cut straight across the face. In conversation he was swift and sparkling, full of anecdote and swearing freely. Reclining lazily on a sofa, surrounded by friends, snuffbox in hand he would talk on for hours with a long, drawling intonation and significant taps on the snuffbox as he cracked his jokes. John Quincy Adams called him only half-educated, but added, "His school has been the world, and in that he is a proficient. His morals, public and private, are loose, but he has all the virtues indispensable to a popular man."

Daniel Webster lacked entirely the talent for stirring the popular imagination. He was an awe-inspiring figure, solid as granite, with strong shoulders and an iron frame. His dark, craggy head was unforgettable; strangers always recognized the jet-black hair, the jutting brow, the large smoldering eyes and the "mastiff-mouth," as Carlyle saw it, "accurately closed." Yet he inclined to be taciturn in public, except when he worked up, with the aid of brandy, a heavy geniality for social purposes. He loved his comfort too much: liquor and rest, duck-shooting at Marshfield and adulation in Boston. His intellectual ability was great, but he used it only under the spur of crisis. In his great speeches inspiration would take charge of his deep, booming voice, and he would shake the world. Then he was, as Emerson remembered him, "the great cannon loaded to the lips." But when inspiration lagged he became simply pompous.

Clay fought for Biddle and his Bank because it fitted in with his superb vision of America, but Webster fought for it in great part because it was a dependable source of private revenue. "I believe my retainer has not been renewed or *refreshed* as usual," he wrote at one point when the Bank had its back to the wall. "If it be wished that my relation to the Bank should be continued, it may be well to send me the usual retainers." How could Daniel Webster expect the American people to follow him through hell and high water when he would not lead unless someone made up a purse for him?

BIDDLE would have much preferred to keep the Bank out of politics altogether. His one interest was in renewing the charter. This he would do with Jackson's help, if possible; with Clay's, if necessary. Thus, during 1830 and 1831 he carefully explored the chances of winning over the President. The active coöperation of McLane and Livingston and the evident division in Jackson's party raised Biddle's hopes. The President, in the meantime, while saying quietly that his views had not changed, allowed McLane to recommend recharter in his Treasury report and barely mentioned the Bank question in his message of 1831.

But for all his amiability Jackson remained unyielding, while the Van Buren group seemed irrevocably hostile. Henry Clay, fearful lest so good an issue slip through his fingers, kept pressing Biddle to let him make recharter a party question. Biddle hesitated, considered, stalled, watched the National Republican convention nominate Clay, with John Sergeant, a lawyer for the Bank, as running mate, read the party address denouncing Jackson's views on the Bank—and on January 9, 1832, petitions for recharter were presented in each House of Congress.

In May the fight began in earnest. Biddle had already sent an advance guard of crack lobbyists, but, with the crucial struggle about to start, he took personal command. By now he was growing drunk with power. When Nathan Appleton, Massachusetts mill owner and member of the House, proposed the charter be modified, Biddle scorned the suggestion, and Clay interceded with Appleton, begging him to vote for the measure as it stood. "Should Jackson veto it," exclaimed Clay with an oath, "I shall veto him!"

On June 11 the bill passed the Senate, 28–20, and on July 3 it passed the House, 107-85. When Biddle made a smiling appearance on the floor after the passage, members crowded round to shake his hand. A riotous party in his lodgings celebrated the victory late into the night.

On July 3 Jackson received the bill. Hearing the news, Martin Van Buren, just back from England, went straight on to Washington, arriving at midnight. The General, still awake, stretched on a sickbed, pale

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

and haggard and propped up by pillows, grasped his friend's hand. Passing his other hand through his snow-white hair, he said firmly but without passion, "The bank, Mr. Van Buren, is trying to kill me, *but I will kill it!*"

A day or two later, Taney, busy in Annapolis, received word to hurry back to Washington. He found the President out of bed and eager for action. He had read a memorandum by Taney with emphatic agreement and then had heard arguments of the rest of the cabinet. While disapproving the bill, they wanted him to place his rejection on grounds which would allow the question to be reopened in the future. Jackson, unwilling to compromise, then turned to Amos Kendall for a first draft of the veto message. Andrew J. Donelson was now revising Kendall's draft in the room across the hall. Would Taney help? The lean, determined face of the Attorney General expressed no reservations.

It took three days to finish the document. The first day Taney and Donelson worked alone, except for Jackson and Ralph Earl, an artist who lived at the White House and used this room as a studio, painting away, oblivious of the tense consultations, the hasty scribbles, the words crossed out, the phrases laboriously worked over, the notes torn up and discarded. Jackson meanwhile passed in and out of the room, listening to the different parts, weighing the various suggestions and directing what should be inserted or altered.

THE MESSAGE, dated July 10, burst like a thunderclap over the nation. Its core was a ringing statement of Jackson's belief in the essential rights of the common man. "It is to be regretted, that the rich and powerful too often bend the acts of government to their selfish purposes," Jackson declared. "Distinctions in society will always exist under every just government. Equality of talents, of education, or of wealth can not be produced by human institutions. In the full enjoyment of the gifts of Heaven and the fruits of superior industry, economy, and virtue, every man is equally entitled to protection by law; but when the laws undertake to add to these natural and just advantages artificial distinctions . . . to make the rich richer and the potent more powerful, the humble members of society—the farmers, mechanics, and laborers—who have neither the time nor the means of securing like favors to themselves, have a right to complain of the injustice of their Government."

Men who believed that the political power of the business community should increase with its wealth were deeply alarmed. No wonder Nicholas Biddle roared to Henry Clay, "It has all the fury of a chained panther, biting the bars of his cage. It is really a manifesto of anarchy, such as Marat or Robespierre might have issued to the mob of the Faubourg St. Antoine." Webster, rising gravely in the Senate, summed up the indictment: "It manifestly seeks to influence the poor against the rich. It wantonly attacks whole classes of the people, for the purpose of turning against them the prejudices and resentments of other classes. It is a State paper which finds no topic too exciting for its use, no passion too inflammable for its address and its solicitation." For Webster, as for Jackson, it was becoming a battle between antagonistic philosophies of government: one declaring, like Webster at the Massachusetts convention, that property should control the state; the other denying that property had a superior claim to governmental privileges and benefits.

TWO THIRDS OF THE PRESS, largely perhaps because of advertising pressure, supported the Bank. Even such a theoretically unpolitical family magazine as the *Saturday Evening Post* had opinions which led the Washington *Globe* to denounce it, in terms which would appeal to later generations, for conveying "its stealthy political influence into the bosom of such *families* as avoided the contests of politics." Biddle also hired such august journals as Robert Walsh's *American Quarterly Review* to print pro-Bank articles.

August gave way to September, September to October, and the clamor grew increasingly furious. Jackson men paraded the streets in the glare of torches, singing campaign songs, carrying hickory poles, gathering around huge bonfires blazing high into the night. Late in October, Horace Binney solemnly told a Philadelphia audience that "the preservation of the Constitution itself" depended on the defeat of Jackson, congratulating them that the right of a free election could still be exercised with safety. "How long it will continue so, or how long the enjoyment of it will be of any value to you, are questions upon which the short remainder of the present year will probably furnish materials for a decisive judgment." Fanny Kemble, resting in Philadelphia after her successes in Washington (where she had dazzled Chief Justice Marshall and Justice Story, as well as Frank Blair of the *Globe*), was assured by her friends that Henry Clay, "the leader of the aristocratic party," was already certain of election.

But the people had not spoken. Soon their time came: "The news from the voting States," Rufus Choate wrote to Edward Everett, "blows over us like a great cold storm." The results rolled in: Jackson, 219, Clay, 49, John Floyd, 11, William Wirt, 7. The bitterness with which conservatism faced the future flared up briefly in a post-election editorial in Joseph T. Buckingham's Boston *Courier*. "Yet there is one comfort left: God has promised that the days of the wicked shall be short; the wicked is old and feeble, and he may die before he can be elected. It is the duty of every good Christian to pray to our Maker to have pity on us."

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Washington Notes

Needed: A Clarion Call

BEHIND THE WIRE GRILLE of the bookcase in the White House Oval Room, leaning against the red-backed volumes of the United States Code, and within easy range of President Truman's roving eye as he wrestled last week with world problems and an obdurate Congress at his flat-topped desk, was a cardboard motto:

> If the trumpet sound an *uncertain* note
> Who will prepare himself for battle?
> *I Cor. 14:8*

All the words of the motto were printed in black save one; "uncertain" stood out in emphatic red ink.

As well as he knows how, Mr. Truman, the Trumpet of the nation, has been trying to sound a certain note for America. But on his yacht trip down the Potomac with a group of liberal Senators last weekend he must have admitted discouragement. Through Senator Barkley, he had warned the Senate that if it affixed the inflationary farm-parity "rider" on the minimum-wage bill he would veto the bill; whereupon the Senate did just that. Mr. Truman was deserted by a majority of the members of his own party.

This was no fault of Mr. Truman's. Forcefully and emphatically he has twice told Congress why he wants the minimum-wage bill. Incongruously enough, it is the conservatives who oppose lifting the present inadequate 40-cent-an-hour minimum to the proposed 65-cent figure. Conservatives, who hate labor unions, should favor the bill. The American trade-union movement has leaped from 3,000,000 to 15,000,000 members between wars. Every day brings new evidence of how trade unions increase the pay of the organized. The pending bill is designed to aid the unorganized, the meek, the lowly, the white-collar worker. Failure of the bill will simply underline the growing disparity between the wages of organized and unorganized workers and provide a fertile field for union agents. Conservatives ought to favor the bill.

The Trumpet's note has been less certain on other matters, including famine relief. We now know the world faces a famine right out of the Dark Ages. Mr. Truman seems to vacillate. Britain and Canada tightened rationing as the war ended; despite repeated warnings by Herbert Lehman, former head of UNRRA, America hastily dropped all food rationing save on sugar. Now Lehman warns that the famine is still being underestimated, that only the first crisis will be over in the next four months, that hunger will continue through the 1947 crop season. The Administration hesitates to take strong steps. Obstruction seems centered in the Department of Agriculture. Henry Morgenthau came to Washington, pleaded with Truman and says he got a sympathetic response. Then he went to Clinton Anderson, Secretary of Agriculture, says he got "just nowhere." A good, firm blast on the trumpet in the neighborhood of Mr. Anderson's right ear might help.

The Lilienthal committee's report to the State Department on the control of atomic energy is based on three scientific postulates: (1) Uranium is the only natural substance that can maintain a chain reaction; (2) Uranium and allied ores in high concentration occur very rarely over the world's surface; (3) Uranium and plutonium can be "denatured." If this is true, the job of world control is enormously simplified. On this scientific tripod the proposed international political structure would be set.

Denaturing makes the atomic material worthless for explosives, but preserves its usefulness for peace. Denaturing can be done, I understand, either as the basic ore is extracted, or after the purified material has been prepared. I also understand the scientists have a very practical reason for believing that once the stuff is denatured, it cannot be purified without immense effort requiring several years; they believe this because they tried to do this very thing during the war—and failed.

The Lilienthal report has the earmarks of a historic document. I prophesy groups will soon appear giving its proposals fanatical support.

The party line on Pearl Harbor has shifted. In the September 24, 1945, issue of *Life* magazine, John Chamberlain wrote of Roosevelt that "there is even ground for suspicion that he elected to bring the crisis to a head when it came." Roosevelt, he declared, "was at least complaisant about welcoming attack." He wrote this on the eve of the big Senate investigation, when Republicans were whooping for blood. Mr. Chamberlain gave his verdict in advance: "The real lesson of Pearl Harbor," he asserted dogmatically, was the "irresponsibility on the part of our leadership." This was the article, you remember, in which Mr. Chamberlain made a hero out of Governor Dewey. Why? Because Mr. Dewey didn't go to the microphone in the 1944 wartime election with the letter just received from General George Marshall announcing that we had cracked the Jap's "ultra" code. Mr. Chamberlain wrote, "The Marshall letter put Dewey in a terrible dilemma." Dewey might have used it to political advantage, Mr. Chamberlain thought; its effect "would have been terrific, and might well have landed Dewey in the White House."

Well, Chamberlain's article seemed plain silly at the time to Washington reporters. In their view, the revelation of Marshall's letter would have kept Dewey out of the White House even more certainly than his speeches.

But now Mr. Chamberlain is back again. Correspondents rubbed their eyes over last week's *Life*. This time Mr. Chamberlain's hero is Republican Senator Homer Ferguson, "The Man Who Pushed Pearl Harbor." Gist of it is that while the big inquiry hasn't revealed evidence that FDR "trapped" the Japs into attack, yet Roosevelt is still to blame. Why? Because of his "secretive and two-faced method of conducting foreign policy." This, Mr. Chamberlain implies, is what Senator Ferguson has revealed.

Reporters will say "Ho-hum." Most of them found Ferguson a dreadful bore. But Chamberlain asserts that the Pearl Harbor hearings "received some of the most unperceptive reporting ever to appear in United States newspapers. . . ." Well, anyway, it's nice to think of John with his two heroes, Thomas and Homer.

Washington T. R. B.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Current Slapping

He Who Gets Slapped, English version by Judith Guthrie, from Andreyev. Booth Theatre, March 20, 1946.
The Assassin, by Irwin Shaw, published by Random House, New York. 190 pages. $2.

A QUARTER of a century ago Andreyev was much discussed. There were those who took these elaborately variegated plays of his as deeply symbolical, those who took them as most profound in problem and general content, those who, like Tolstoy, refused to take them as essentially tragic, and those who rejoiced in them as rich theatrical material. There is no need to go into all this now, for reasons that I shall presently show; but the ultimate issue at the moment is a matter of the form, or we may say of the medium in which the idea, simple or complex, is expressed. In the case of "He Who Gets Slapped," for example, the question which concerns us is not whether the thematic idea is one that could be simply expressed in simple terms; the point is that the idea Andreyev wishes precisely to express could only be expressed in the terms which he uses to express it.

The reasons, therefore, why any discussion of Andreyev is futile as regards this present Theatre Guild production of his play are obvious. Mrs. Guthrie has made a pleasing English—British in fact—stage adaptation and story, mildly mindless, that may provide a grateful theatre evening for the wrong people in a right place where the right people would be in the wrong place. In sum we have the flattering democratic incidence by which people who are not likely ever to perceive Andreyev's play can tell themselves that they have seen it and loved it or found it interesting. They can say to themselves that they like or dislike that kind of theatre. But it's not that kind of theatre. Well, dear reader, as Pausanias said of the relic in the temple, those who have not seen a dragon have at least seen a big pine cone.

Andreyev's "He Who Gets Slapped" is all compounded of fantastic variety, of wild wings and mad light, of the shock of movement, chaos, poetry and the harlequinade of human passions. What the Guild gave us twenty-three years ago was mild enough though rather important; but this is all pleasant pussy-foot. The players are well in hand, agreeably directed by Mr. Tyrone Guthrie (his first work on this side of the Atlantic so far as I know); Mr. Dennis King is He, now called Funny; Miss Susan Douglas is Consuela, the young girl; and Mr. Russell Collins, Miss Stella Adler, Mr. John Abbott and others are used to suggest more or less the other characters. The setting by Motley has the virtue of going the Theatre Guild one better: it leaves out pretty much every theatric element that Andreyev intended.

Mr. Irwin Shaw's play, "The Assassin," was produced, he tells us in the preface to the published version, some four days before he was discharged from the Army. After reading the reviews the morning after the opening he was not certain, he says, that he had not made a mistake in allowing the Adjutant General to relieve him from duty. The critics, it developed, had done him more harm than the German army. The Germans had tried to kill him, but the critics' aim was better. "The Assassin" closed ten days after the opening. With variations, therefore, the playwright asks himself why is he here? et cetera. He has had seven plays produced in New York, and now from the foxhole of his discontent he makes an attempt to answer these questions and others. He is like a lover, he says, who has finally parted from the lady who has occupied his affections for many years; he looks back, and with eyes cool and perhaps clear with disenchantment, he weighs and reassesses under new standards.

The whichness of the which of that is all very well. If Mr. Shaw's play had been lauded into a Broadway success, I am sorry to say that in my opinion these passages would not have been written. We start, then, with a bit of critique on the Broadway situation from a playwright who has just suffered a defeat. In my opinion Broadway, its critics and all, need a crack over the head, but in this preface to his play Mr. Shaw provides the proof that the playwrights are as much a part of the general mess as anybody else. Nevertheless, the facts are with Mr. Shaw when he speaks of the cult of revision by which a play is pawed over from every angle by the producer, the actors and others, of the laws of the theatre unions, with even the rehearsals deadened thereby, and so on and so on, and that brings him to the critics. There are three critics, he says, who, with the exception of plays with great stars, determine the success or failure of a play. They are Mr. Barnes of the New York *Herald Tribune*, Mr. Nichols of the *Times* and Mr. Chapman of the *News*. He then speaks of the incompetence of the critics, their efforts at witty cracks and general humor, their unpredictable judgments, et cetera.

I may say at this point that Mr. Shaw evidently does not include Mr. Joseph Wood Krutch of the *Nation* or myself, as humble *New Republic*, among the critics. We are not mentioned as affecting playwrights one way or the other, so that what comforts I might at the moment, as things go, offer him, are of no value. Thus when he says that the critics damned Saroyan's "Get Away, Old Man" with cries of rage and kept the same producer's "Brother Rat" going for God knows how many rich seasons, I cannot console him even a tiny bit by saying that I found much to praise in the Saroyan play and that I have never seen "Brother Rat" at all. And plainly it would be useless to tell Mr. Shaw that after the death of John Anderson, and the departure of Mr. Richard Watts, Mr. John Mason Brown and Mr. Brooks Atkinson, I wrote a note to the Drama Critics' Circle stating that in the disruption caused by the war such an institution could not, it seemed to me, rightly function, and I would resign. George Jean Nathan resigned, Wolcott Gibbs resigned and Joseph Wood Krutch was already, I believe, on some leave of absence. Going back to Mr. Shaw's remarks on the critics and "Brother Rat," I must cite his next remark: "It is this curious doubleness in critical standards that is the despair of the men who write plays out of serious purpose."

Well, we cannot speak two languages at once. Mr. Shaw has already done himself in, as a serious dramatist, by a reference to Robert Sherwood. "It's easy," said Sherwood. "When I write a serious play, I get Alfred and Lynn to play the leads." But there are not enough Lunts to go round, Mr. Shaw says, and so— Anybody who knows anything knows in the first place that Robert Sherwood is a third-rate thinker in the theatre, with a certain excellent

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

and obliging stage sense. But the deadly fact here is that Mr. Sherwood, with one of these serious plays where the Lunts take the leads, calculates the piece to catch their eyes and then allows them endless suggestions, changes, tricks, amplifications, scenes padded in to balance the pair of them, etc. The sincerities necessary to the dramatic theme—which Mr. Shaw has just pointed out as often shrewdly lacking in what he hastens to call Miss Lillian Hellman's fine plays —do not bother either Mr. Sherwood or the Lunts. The prime thing sought by this combination is box-office success expressed if possible in terms of critical esteem—as a matter of fact, Mr. Noel Coward is pleasantly reported to have described Mr. Lunt as having his head in the box-office, his feet in the clouds.

A great deal that Mr. Irwin Shaw says of the theatre situation, and of the critics, is certainly true, and to be considered and improved upon. But neither he himself in this Preface nor his works are convincing. And meanwhile, we may note it is a pity that if the reader is to judge the critics with respect to the play, "The Assassin" is not herein published as the critics saw it on the stage. The third, and last, act is not the one presented in New York. It is the earlier and less compromised one, which the author prefers. What a far cry all this implies from Ibsen when he said, "If the taste of Norway does not like my plays, the taste of Norway will have to change!"

No. Mr. Shaw is facile and ambitious, gifted and plausible, of swimming eye and weak taste; but he is not convincing. He provides a poor indictment of Broadway, even of its critics on the papers. STARK YOUNG

The Bandwagon

Field Marshal Viscount Alexander paid tribute today to the part that the old school tie played in Britain's victory and he doubted whether Adolf Hitler or Benito Mussolini had ever had one. – *From the New York* Times.

. . . Chairman Spence (D, Ky.) mildly inquired: "If all price controls should be taken off as you suggest, wouldn't the members of the NAM benefit by the rise in prices that would result?" The NAM president did not answer directly until Spence had repeated his question three times. At that stage Wason said, "Yes, sir." Then he added, "but, the NAM is standing for the correct economic principle." – *From the San Francisco* Examiner.

A former service man who denounced Detroit foes of Wilson W. Wyatt's government housing program, and a woman who demanded lifting of OPA rent controls to give landlords "the freedom for which our boys fought and died," enlivened a rally in support of the Patman housing-stabilization bill Sunday night. – *From the Detroit* News.

That All-Out Effort

The White House said that President Truman is asking for the conservation of vital foods rather than the elimination of public dinners during the world emergency. – *AP dispatch from Washington.*

Our readers are invited to contribute to this column; $1 will be paid for each item used. Address Bandwagon, care of the New Republic. *Please enclose the original clipping.* – THE EDITORS

From The New Republic Mail Bag

Dr. Samuel Corson, chairman of the Minnesota Independent Citizens' Committee of the Arts, Sciences and Professions, sends us a copy of an open letter to Drew Pearson, newspaper and radio commentator, criticizing his handling of the Russian-spy stories. Dr. Corson says that Mr. Pearson's implications that Russia plans an attack on the Western Hemisphere were unfounded and that such implications might eventually lead to war with Russia.

Carl A. Viggiani writes from Cambridge, Massachusetts, in comment on Irving Wolfson's "The AMG Mess in Germany" (the *New Republic*, March 4),that the military's primary function is "to destroy the enemy physically. . . . It is a machine that can destroy a city or a body, but it does not follow that it can destroy a belief or a spirit." Mr. Viggiani maintains that the most a military organization can do is to maintain order and provide the authority for a civilian organization which should be recruited for the real task of denazification and restoration of Germany economically, politically and morally.

A liberal writes from Washington, D. C., to clarify our classification "Wallace and Full Employment" in our voting records in the congressional supplement (the *New Republic*, February 11). He says, "As you know, many of the representatives who voted for Wallace *i.e.*, against the George bill, were nevertheless opposed to the Murray-Patman full-employment bill." He writes that "there is no clear-cut House tabulation" on full employment, since the version which passed the House in February was emasculated. Our correspondent suggests that interested readers may obtain a copy of the 115 sponsors of the original bill (S380-HR2202) from Representative Outland's office.

Professor G. A. Borgese of the University of Chicago sends us a copy of an appeal signed by 160 anti-Nazi exiles here, asking that private charitable organizations be allowed to provide relief to the German and Austrians who need it now. The appeal says in part, "The spreading of spiritual and physical degeneration in Central Europe threatens to demoralize the whole world. Unemployment, hunger and despair and the hatred they generate are neither antidotes for fascism nor foundations on which to build peaceful democratic societies."

Carl Carmer, president of the American center of the P.E.N. International Writers' Club, tells us of its European relief plan, which is sending packages to writers in France, Holland, Belgium, Poland, Greece and other hungry countries. He asks our readers to send contributions to the P.E.N. International Relief Fund at 16 East Ninety-sixth Street, noting that such contributions are deductible for income-tax purposes. Some other organizations to which our readers may send contributions for relief are: American Friends' Service Committee, 20 South Twelfth Street, Philadelphia; Coöperative for American Remittances to Europe, 122 East Twenty-second Street, New York City; International Rescue and Relief Committee, 103 Park Avenue, New York City; warehouse, 130 Orchard Street (for clothing); Save Europe Now, 144 Southhampton Row, London W. C. 1; the Commission for World Council Service of the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America, 297 Fourth Avenue, New York City.

Eleanor Roosevelt writes for the National Committee to Aid the Families of General Motors Strikers, 212 East Forty-ninth Street, New York City, that although the strike is over, there is still the need for relief "until two or three weeks hence when the workers' first paycheck is due."

New Republic readers in Rhode Island may wish to become affiliated with the Rhode Island Citizens' Political Action Committee, part of the NCPAC. The chairman is Milton Paisner, 706 Pontiac Avenue, Cranston, Rhode Island.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

from the life of the world outside where the "real people" live. Since she does not remember how it came about, she tries to devise explanations for why she is there. For example, being a writer, maybe she has had herself confined in order to study the inside of a prison at first hand.

The whole story is absorbing and told with consummate skill in understatement. Condemning adjectives are rarely used, and when they do come ("humiliating," in reference to the "toilet-paper system," or "execrable," describing the food) they are the more effective. As the book's blurb states, this novel "might have been a horror story." But there is neither horror nor suspense. This is not a pit with a pendulum.

Juniper Hill, the hospital, is far above the average. That makes this novel as a document even more telling. Here is the smell, the monotony, the nobody-to-listen, the dirt, the shortage of personnel and supplies ("there wasn't enough of anything but patients"), the straitjacket and its variants, the vegetarianism of the commissary department, the treatment—terrifying at the brief moments when it comes and in the endless stretches when it is completely absent, the examining psychiatrist who shakes his finger at you like a district attorney, the anxiety about being called to a staff conference which decides one's fate. The author describes patients and doctors at Juniper Hill with quick and sure strokes. My own experience bears out the truth of her descriptions. I have myself seen more doctors than patients who thought they were Napoleon.

There is a sketch of the good psychiatrist as he has to function in a bad environment, the man who "has an intuitive understanding and a willingness to admit that a problem is solved even when he does not understand what the problem was or how it was solved."

There is a great deal of humor in the very seriousness of this book. The "real people" use clichés that sound like sarcasm to those on the receiving end: Juniper Hill is "absolutely one of the best, if not the best"; a nurse is "one of the finest nurses in the country, if not the finest"; and the "unreal ones" repeat the clichés of the "real": "Every case is different." The doctors function in a hierarchy. They are a transition form to the real people.

The Snake Pit reaches even greater stature because, like stories by Kafka or Richard Wright's "The Man Who Lived Underground," it provides a true picture of the world outside as projected from a new and fantastic focus. In Juniper Hill "you could say anything so long as you did not say the truth"; things happen "that could never happen"; if you demand a lawyer they thrust a gag into your mouth. One patient explains that one of the nurses is just an inmate in disguise, which reminds Virginia of a labor spy she knew who dressed up like a laborer to "save the world from the CIO." There are good laws, but equally good ways to get around them. In Juniper Hill patients are kind and generous and share their rare luxuries. When they get well they become selfish, to adjust to the "people outside" who desire "money, power or fame." Independent thinking is no more encouraged in Juniper Hill than in the world outside. "Juniper Hill's goal was to Keep Them Quiet. Perhaps a group of thinking patients would have disturbed the peace. Let people think and at once they are drawing up petitions and demanding Rights. There simply were not enough nurses to handle

HELP WANTED—MEN

WELL-KNOWN SCHOOL, carving "New Future," needs a Business Manager; Bookkeeper with vision, liberal educational ideals, dynamic appreciation of School's potentialities; the ability to build and control a sound business basis for rapidly expanding departments. Write: Box 740, The New Republic.

POSITIONS WANTED

PUBLIC RELATIONS or Contact Rep. with liberal, progressive organization. Veteran 29; college graduate; experience Govt. organization in Administration and public contact; minimum salary $4,500. Address: Box 742, The New Republic.

LECTURER interested in advancing progressive education versed in fields of political science, public relations and personal problems, looks for position with progressive organization. Presently working on educational program with War Department Free beginning April. Write Benvenuto von Halle, Special Projects Branch, Presentation Section, Ft. Eustice, Virginia.

RECENT CORNELL GRADUATE, desires position; liberal organization; political, labor group; background; politics, art, dramatics; fluent Spanish. Address Box 738, The New Republic.

HELP WANTED

WORKERS EDUCATION SERVICE, organized to serve Georgia labor movement, needs field program leaders, director research and publications. Applicants need experience workers' education or adult education. Good salary. Write Director, 1120 Candler Bldg., Atlanta, Georgia.

TOBACCO

CIGARETTES—Popular brands; minimum 3 cartons. Price $1.35 per carton; postpaid. Send check or money order. Ace Mail Order Co., East Orange B. N. J.

MAGAZINE SUBSCRIPTIONS

SUBSCRIBE FOR MAGAZINES
simply by asking me for them!
Any number in one order; pay after I bill you at publishers' lowest prices, club rates, etc.
Catalog NR Free
Institutional accounts expedited
JOHN CREHORE, Postbox 2329 B, Washington 13, D.C.

BOOKLET

STAGEFRIGHT, its cause and cure. Booklet $1.00. Goodhue Studio, 56 Fayerweather St., Cambridge 38, Mass.

CAMP

CAMP NORTHWOOD

A Progressive Camp for Boys
in the Pollen-Free Area of Adirondack State Park

All field athletics and water sports, archery, riflery, overnight hikes, canoe trips, nature study, arts and crafts, dramatics, music, etc.

Each boy creates his own program. Experienced personnel gives individual instruction. Graduate physician and registered nurse in constant attendance. Booklet on request.

TUITION: $500

Directors	New York Office
Leon B. Ginsburg, Jr.	11 W. 42d St.
Aaron H. Fertz	LOngacre 5-3424

LANGUAGES

29 LANGUAGES by **Linguaphone**, Russian, Spanish, Portuguese—Direct conversational method of mastering any language quickly, easily, correctly at home. Send for FREE book. LINGUAPHONE INSTITUTE, 86 RCA Bldg., New York. CI 7-0830.

HANDWRITING ANALYSIS

SCIENTIFIC HANDWRITING ANALYSIS
Alfred Kanfer, 62 Leroy St., N. Y. C. Tel. WA 5-0958
Recognized by hospitals, doctors, psychologists, schools; employed by firms and industries. Lessons. By appointment only. Marital, education, vocational, psychological problems. Fee $3.00.

Order your books—all books—mailed anywhere in the U. S. A.

POSTAGE FREE
from NEW REPUBLIC BOOKS
40 E. 49th St., New York 17, N. Y.

H.G.WELLS—Prophet of the Atomic Bomb

Read his latest book:

"CRUX ANSATA—An Indictment of the Roman Catholic Church"

An historical summary of the Catholic Church's political intrigues leading to its tie-up with the Nazi-Fascist-Shinto Axis.

Cloth Binding $1.75 **Paper-covered $1.25**

Also get a copy of

"BEHIND THE DICTATORS," by L. H. Lehmann

A fully documented analysis of Vatican-Fascist collaboration.

Cloth Binding $1.75 **Paper-covered $1.00**

COMBINATION OFFERS

Both Cloth Bound Books $3.00
Both Paper Bound Books $2.00

New Pamphlet

"VATICAN POLICY IN THE SECOND WORLD WAR"

48 pages of Documented Facts . . . 25¢

☞ *Free to those who return this ad with their order for the above books*

Order from:

AGORA PUBLISHING CO., Dept. 452
229 WEST 48TH STREET NEW YORK 19, N. Y.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

thinkers." In the same impersonal way in which a patient is changed from one ward to another in Juniper Hill, Virginia's husband in the outside world suddenly has a new employer because "the Kraft bought out the Alden chain."

There are undoubtedly those who will not like this book, either because they do not get it or because they cannot take it. But the sensitive reader will be stirred emotionally and will find food for thought. He will ask himself: Do things really have to be like this either in Juniper Hill or in the world outside? And he may and should reflect that the distance between Juniper Hill and Dachau is not so great as most people think. This book is so good that you cannot read it in one sitting.

FREDERIC WERTHAM, M.D.

A Reader's List

OUT OF THIS CENTURY, by Peggy Guggenheim (Dial, $3.75). Miss Guggenheim's generous contributions to twentieth-century art and artists entitle her essay in autobiography to an equally generous reception. But apart from some unconsciously humorous passages and Jackson Pollock's handsome jacket, this is a book to avoid unless your taste runs to dull writing about things that must have been exciting at times and unless you are part of that constantly growing audience that finds anything about Europe in the twenties irresistible.

A WALL TO PAINT ON, by Ione Robinson (Dutton, $3.75). In 1927, a beautiful girl of seventeen traveled from Los Angeles to New York to study art. She kept right on traveling. In the course of her quest to learn how to paint and how to live, Miss Robinson managed to meet just about everybody of importance in the world of art and politics and to witness such historical events as the battle of the Ebro in Spain and the Nazi pogrom of 1938. The earliest portion of the book, which describes her experiences in Mexico, Greenwich Village and other habitats of artists, writers and Communist leaders in the early thirties, is the most interesting. The story of Miss Robinson herself, a pretty, neurotic, idealistic, egocentric girl, with moderate talent and moderate intelligence, footing it nimbly on the summits of modern society, might have been a fabulous one if it had been told with insight and objectivity. But its only existence here is between the lines.

Crime and Punishment

THE HORIZONTAL MAN, by Helen Eustis (Harpers, $2.50). Kevin Boyle, self-confessed Casanova, poet and English teacher at Hollymount College, is murdered in his rooms and Molly Morrison, a neurotic freshman with a terrific crush on Boyle, makes a confession of guilt. A young newspaper reporter teams up with Kate Innes, psychology-major and nobody's fool, and they lead the reader through an exciting exercise in psychiatry. The excellent characterization and background make this psychological thriller a continuously interesting job.

HOLY DISORDERS, by Edmund Crispin (Lippincott, $2). The slightly precocious author of *Obsequies at Oxford* has turned out another amusing gambit involving the same Gervase Fen, amateur detective and professor of English Literature. This is no mere tale of murder; it also involves witchcraft, treason and a miniscule (the author's vocabulary is infectious) dose of psychiatry. Mr. Crispin's wit and high spirits are exhilarating and there is every reason to expect that in his next book he may really make our flesh creep.

SUSANNA, DON'T YOU CRY, by Mary Plum (Crime Club, $2). Susan Marquette comes back to Portville, Iowa, from a holiday visit to find her beloved Uncle Jim strangely dead and his white-elephant resort hotel on the verge of sale to the Army for a rehabilitation center. Since Susan, though her uncle's sole heir, has not been informed of the proposed deal, she and her sister Anna start investigating. With the help of two lively Marines—the first patients and way ahead of schedule—the girls unravel a nasty murder and expose some flourishing local grafters. Well told and even enhanced by a very cheery love story. By the author of *State Department Cat*.

HE WHO WHISPERS, by John Dickson Carr (Harpers, $2). In postwar England Dr. Gideon Fell is introduced to the facts of a baffling—and still unsolved—murder that occurred in Chartres in 1939. Fay Seton, who had been a principal in the French case, is staying with Miles and Marion Hammond when Marion almost dies from heart failure brought on by extreme fright. Dr. Fell, in solving the earlier murder as well as Marion's near demise, strained my credulity considerably past the point of "willing suspension of disbelief."

THE LYING LADIES, by Robert Finnegan (Simon and Shuster, $2). Dan Banion, a newspaperman who's against people pushing other people around, intervenes on behalf of a young man whom circumstantial evidence casts as prime suspect in a brutal murder. Dan's researches lay bare too many skeleton-packed closets to suit the small-town politicians and no holds are barred in their attempts to prevent him from pinning the crime on the guilty person. Americana at its least appetizing makes a realistic background for this fast, tough yarn. E. H.

New Republic News

The *New Republic* Franklin D. Roosevelt memorial supplement, to appear with the April 15 issue, has gone to press. Mr. Winston Churchill, in the finest tradition of the journalist he was and is, sent his copy by cable from London to beat the deadline. Wiping the sweat from their eyes, the *NR* editors remind you that our paper supply is still limited, and if you want new friends of the *NR* to get this historic issue, better tell them to move quickly.

One of our readers, Mr. Chauncey Turner of San Mateo, California, tells us we are TOO TAME (in capital letters). He tells us it is high time we changed the name of the *NR*, to "Liberal Opinion," "Liberal Democracy," "The Republicrat" or "Modern Times." Another reader suggests "New Republic and World." How about it?

Our Hollywood correspondent soon will make his first appearance in our columns, with news about trends in the picture-making industry, Hollywood politics, industry gossip, and what the public can expect to see in their local movie theatres six months from now.

Contributors

Frederic Wertham has been associated with the New York City Department of Hospitals for the past 13 years. He is director of the Psychiatric Service of Queens General Hospital and president of the Association for the Advancement of Psychotherapy. Dr. Wertham recently organized the Lafargue Clinic, in Harlem, to give free psychiatric aid. His book, *Dark Legend: A Study in Murder*, has just been reissued by the Book Find Club.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

MOTION PICTURE

BING CROSBY · BOB HOPE
DOROTHY LAMOUR
— In —
"ROAD TO UTOPIA"
A PARAMOUNT PICTURE

— In Person —
BENNY GOODMAN
His Clarinet and Orchestra with The Famous Sextet
— Featuring —
MEL POWELL
PAT HENNING

NOW *PARAMOUNT* TIMES SQUARE

STAGE PLAYS

"Enchanting · Brilliant!" *Watts, Sat. Review of Literature*
KERN AND HAMMERSTEIN'S
SHOW BOAT
Music by JEROME KERN. Books and Lyrics by OSCAR HAMMERSTEIN 2nd. Based on the novel by EDNA FERBER • Staged by HASSARD SHORT.
ZIEGFELD THEA., 54th Street and Sixth Avenue. Cl. 5-5200. Evs. 8:30 Sharp. Mts. Wed. & Sat. 2:30 Sharp.
MAIL ORDERS PROMPTLY FILLED

"NO. 1 ON THE HIT PARADE"—*Walter Winchell*
EDWIN LESTER Presents the Musical Triumph
SONG OF NORWAY
Based on the Life and Music of EDVARD GRIEG
IMPERIAL THEATRE, 45th St., West of Broadway. CO. 5-2412. Evs. 8:30 Sharp. Mats. Wednesday & Saturday, 2:30.
CURTAIN AT 8:30. PLEASE—NO ONE SEATED DURING PROLOGUE
Moves to BROADWAY Theatre, 53rd Street and Broadway, Monday, April 15th

"A Gag-Happy-Meaning-ful New Hit" —*Life Magazine*

MAX GORDON *presents*
BORN YESTERDAY
The New Comedy Hit by GARSON KANIN
LYCEUM THEA. 45th Street East of B'way. CH. 4-4256
Evenings 8:40. Matinees Wednesday and Saturday at 2:40.

Buy All the Bonds You Can . . .
Keep All the Bonds You Buy

MOTION PICTURES

Manhattan
ALHAMBRA
COLISEUM
81st ST.
86th ST.
58th ST. near Lex.
HAMILTON
125th ST.
REGENT
RIVERSIDE
23rd ST.

Bronx
CASTLE HILL
CHESTER
FORDHAM
FRANKLIN
MARBLE HILL
PELHAM
ROYAL

Westchester
MT. VERNON
NEW ROCH.
WH. PLAINS
YONKERS

RKO *NOW*
"Ably Plotted From Start to Finish."—*P.M.*
ALICE FAYE · DANA ANDREWS · LINDA DARNELL
'FALLEN ANGEL'
Based on the Novel by *Marty Holland*
Produced and Directed by *Otto Preminger*
— AND —
"SUNBONNET SUE" GALE STORM PHIL REGAN

Brooklyn
BUSHWICK
DYKER
GREENPOINT
KENMORE
MADISON
ORPHEUM
PROSPECT
REPUBLIC
TILYOU
Coney Island

Queens
ALDEN
Jamaica
Keith's
FLUSHING
Keith's
RICH. HILL
STRAND
Far Rockaway

Manhattan
COLONIAL

"An always interesting drama."—*N. Y. Sun*
BARBARA
STANWYCK
IN
'MY REPUTATION'
with
GEORGE BRENT · LUCILE WATSON · EVE ARDEN
From the novel "Instruct My Sorrows" by Clare Jaynes
— AND —
'RED DRAGON' SIDNEY TOLER

NOW
RKO
ALBEE
FULTON & DE KALB
BROOKLYN

"Best thriller in a long time."—*Life Magazine*
DOROTHY McGUIRE · GEORGE BRENT · ETHEL BARRYMORE
'THE SPIRAL STAIRCASE'
and
"SWING PARADE OF 1946" GALE STORM PHIL REGAN

ELECTIONS—1946—190,000 copies in print

If you have not yet ordered for your own or your organization's distribution this latest and most valuable New Republic supplement on the voting records of Congress, do so today.

ORDER BLANK

The New Republic, 40 East 49th Street, New York 17, New York.

Enclosed please find $..... to cover cost of ..... supplements.

12 copies, $1.00 25 copies, $2.00 75 copies, $5.00 500 copies, $25.00 1,000 copies, $40.00

NAME.....

ADDRESS.....

ORGANIZATION.....

For your own imprints on the front cover or other special editions, address the Business Department, The New Republic, 40 East 49th Street, New York 17, N. Y.

4-8-46

Printed by STEINBERG PRESS, INC., Morgan & Johnson Aves., Brooklyn 6, N. Y.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Announcing

WORLD REPORT

[A Pre-Publication Announcement and Special Invitation to Readers of New Republic]

Momentous days lie ahead. The shooting part of World War II is ended.

But have we in the United States the will and the determination to follow through on the course to which the War committed us, now that War's unifying *influence is gone?*

How far will Soviet Russia go in her efforts to expand her political empire through use of the technique she tested out in Iran?

How long can we use the secret of the atomic bomb to insure the good behavior of other nations? And what happens when this period of grace runs out?

Which way will Latin America go—a realistic Latin America which has already taken cognizance of our internal dissension and the resulting lack of flow of goods to her markets?

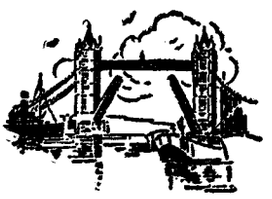
How much longer can democratic England hold out against the world tides of rival ideologies?

For those thinking people who see the real significance of America's new position in world affairs, for those thinking people who realize our responsibility and recognize our opportunity, for those who really want to know what is going on beyond our own boundaries, WORLD REPORT is to be published.

WORLD REPORT, a new weekly magazine—the only one of its kind—will be devoted exclusively to reporting, analyzing and forecasting the news of *international* affairs. WORLD REPORT is dedicated to a greater America through fuller understanding of world events, world problems, world opportunities.

Every weekly issue will "brief" you on the business, economic and political outlook for the world as a whole, and for important nations in particular.

Special studies—none of them over two pages in length—will give you crystal-clear insight into situations of major importance—whether they be the world plans of Russia, the struggle for foreign oil or rubber sources, trouble in Latin America or the Balkans, England's fight against her decline in power, or our opportunities for trade in Europe or the Far East.



Each issue will be liberally illustrated with pictures and maps which so often tell the story better than words. Unique pictograms will help you grasp the significance of major trends at a glance. WORLD REPORT will contain information of great value to those who intend to travel or do business in other countries.

WORLD REPORT will be published by the same organization which now publishes the authoritative, analytical news magazine, The United States News, covering domestic affairs.

The coupon below entitles you to a Charter Subscription to WORLD REPORT at the special Founders' Rate, $4 for fifty-two issues, with the understanding that there will be no charge if the first few weekly issues do not please you. Returning this coupon promptly will ensure your receipt of Volume I, Number 1, as soon as it is off the press.

WORLD REPORT

WASHINGTON 7, D. C.

Here's Your Invitation to Become a Charter Subscriber!

FINISH TEARING AND MAIL

WORLD REPORT . . . WASHINGTON 7, D. C.

I Accept Your Invitation to become a Charter Subscriber for WORLD REPORT at the special Founders' Rate of $4 for fifty-two issues. If I am not pleased with the first weekly issues, there is to be no charge.

Name .....

Street & No. .....

City ..... *Zone* ..... *State* .....

N

published by

THE UNITED STATES NEWS PUBLISHING CORPORATION, WASHINGTON 7, D. C.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED